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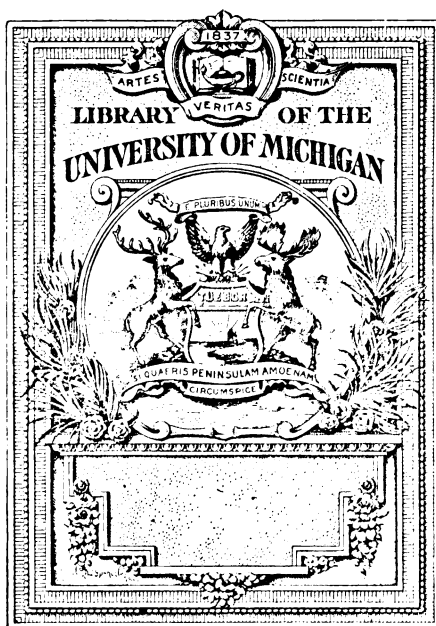
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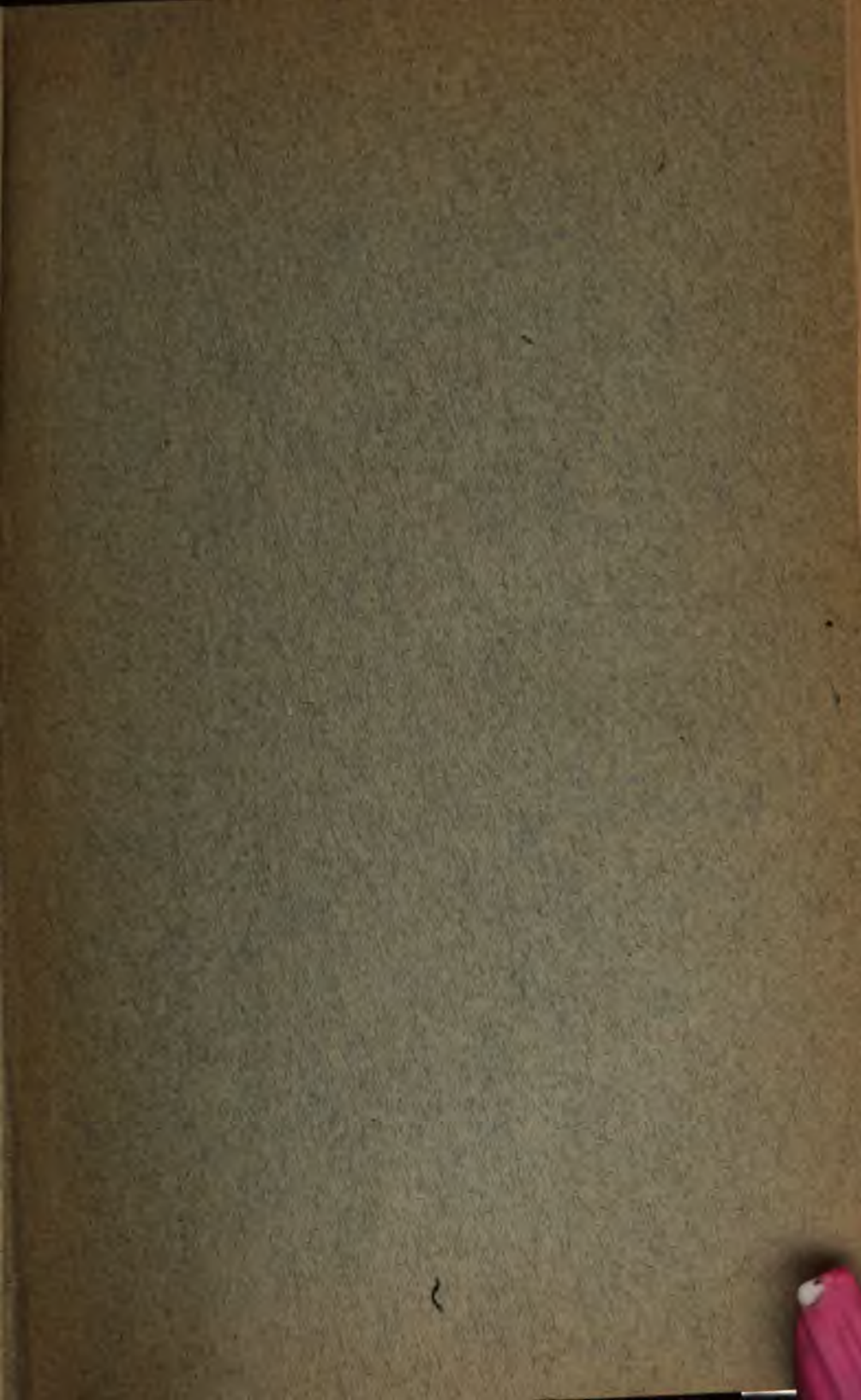
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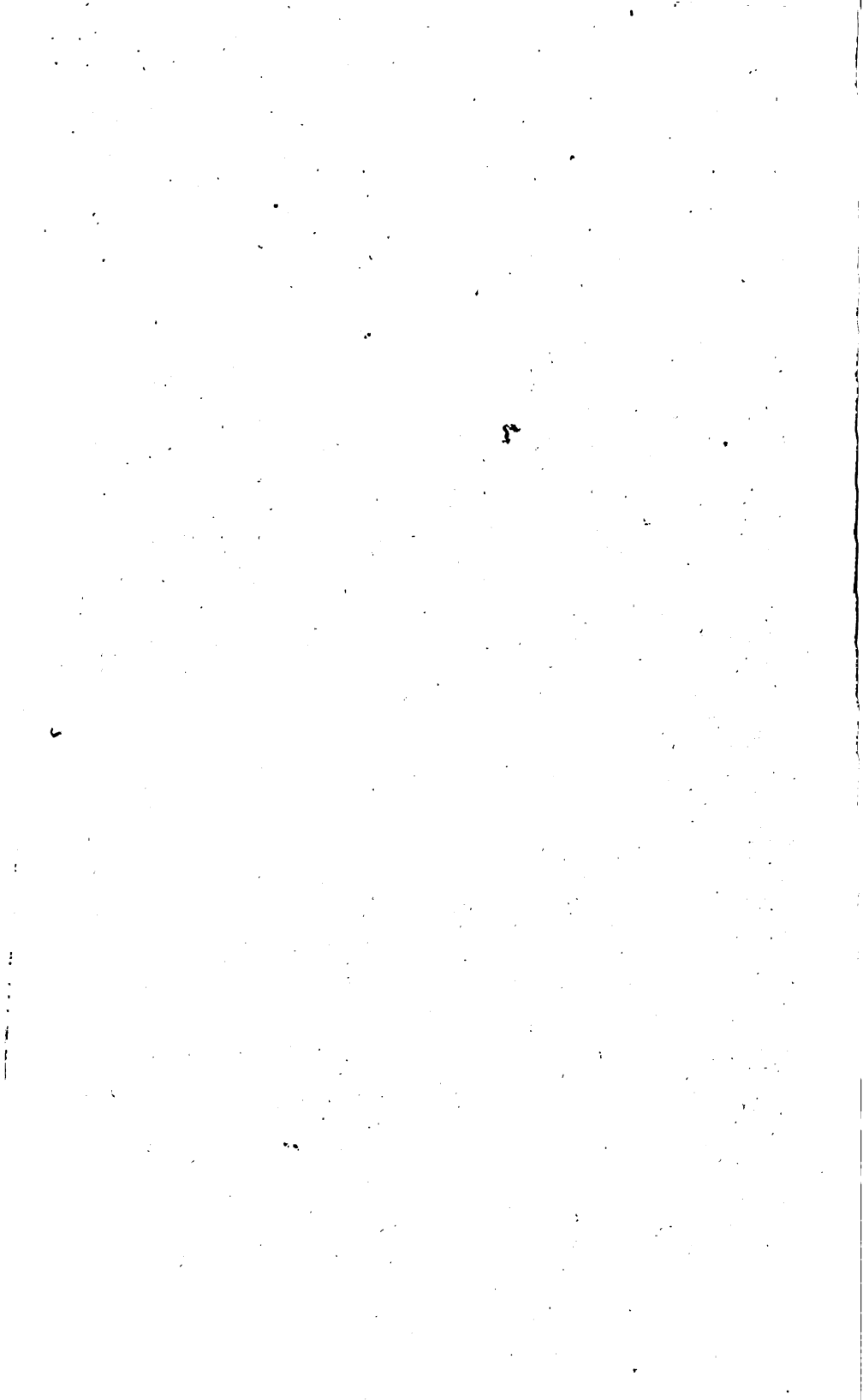


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HERMATHENA:

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BY

Members of Trinity College, Dublin.

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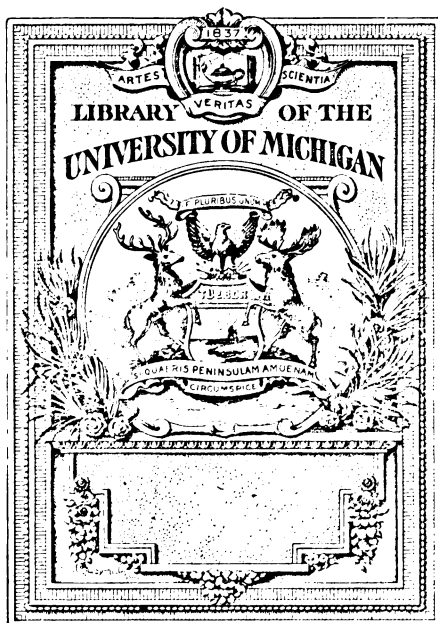
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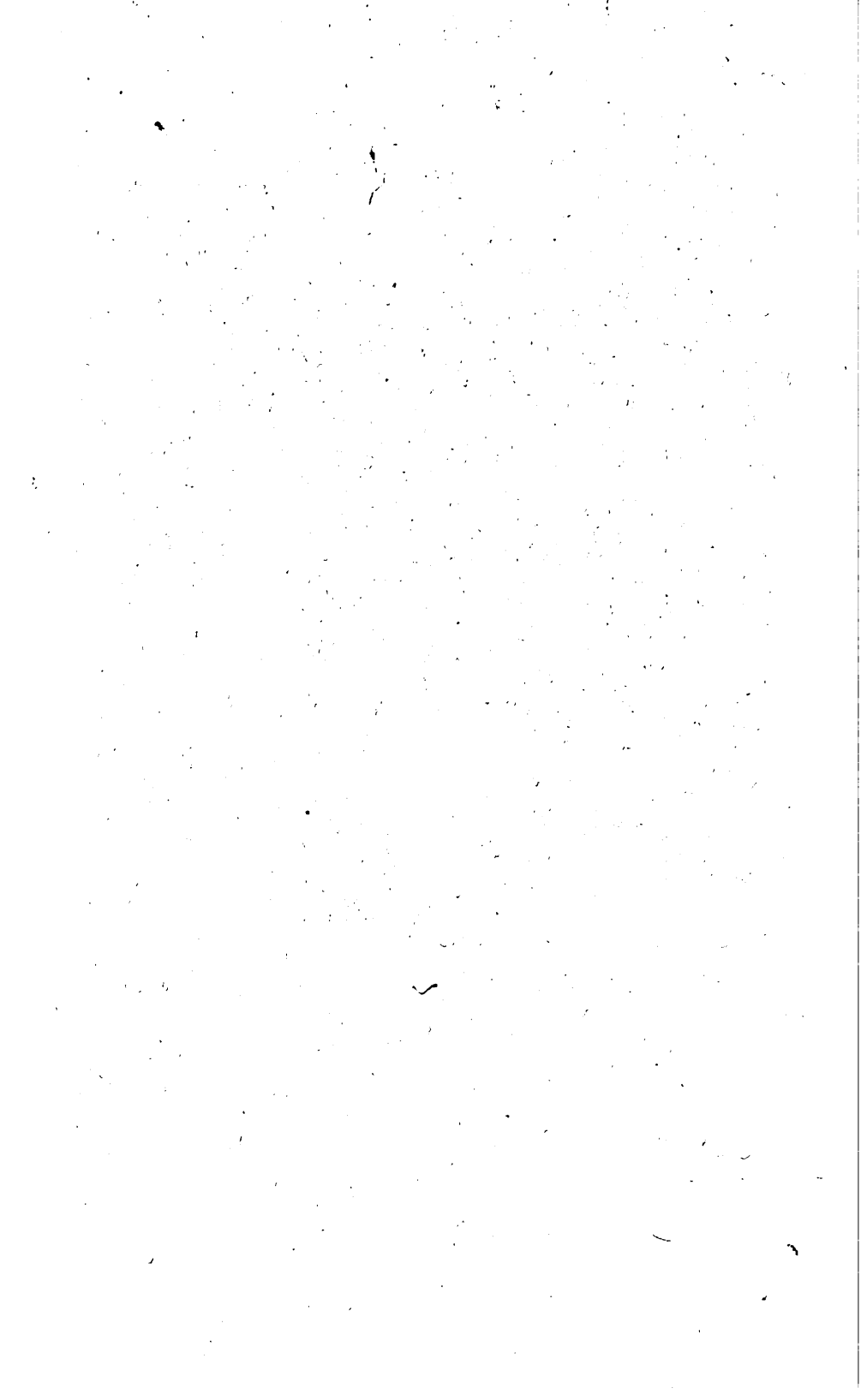
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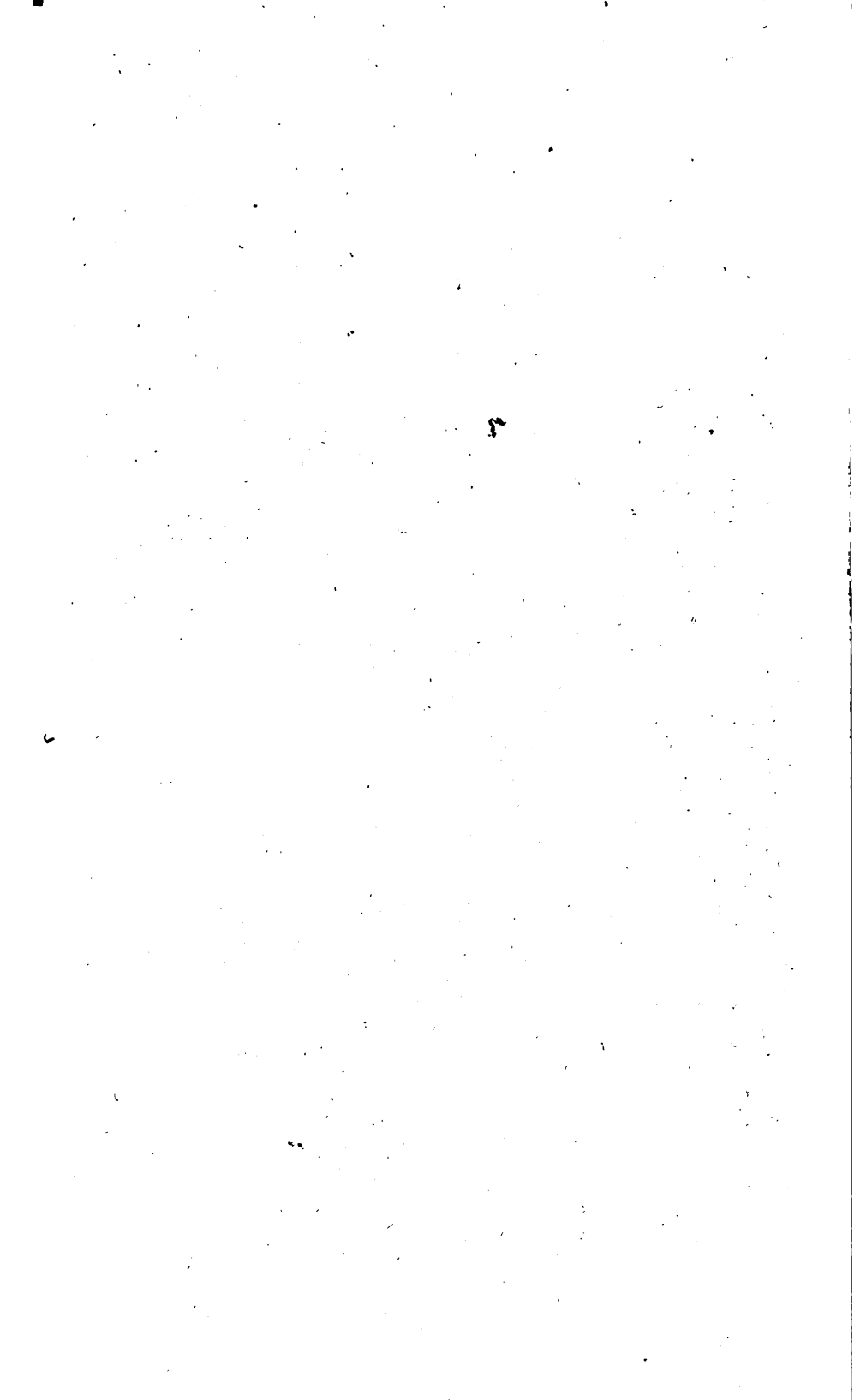
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quoted below. In a word, we must discard the notion and its belongings that Induction is a syllogism in our technical sense of the term.

In his treatise, *De Partibus Animalium*, IV., ii., 10-11; 677a, 30-35, Aristotle gives a sketch of what he considers a sound Induction; and, curious enough, it is the very Induction which he formulates in the *Prior Analytics*; διὸ καὶ χαριέστατα λέγουσι τῶν ἀρχαίων οἱ φάσκοντες αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ πλείω ζῆν χρόνον τὸ μὴ ἔχειν χολήν, βλέψαντες ἐπὶ τὰ μώνυχα καὶ τὰς ἐλάφους· ταῦτα γὰρ ἄχολά τε καὶ ζῆ πολὺν χρόνον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ ἑωραμένα ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει χολήν, οἷον δελφίς καὶ κάμηλος, καὶ ταῦτα τυγχάνει μακρόβια ὄντα.

On this passage I wish to point out—*first*, that Induction meant observation by means of the senses, as is shown by the words βλέψαντες and τὰ μὴ ἑωραμένα ὑπ' ἐκείνων. This, of course, does not come up to the precision of Bacon's rule: *Ut experimentum de re, sensus de experimento judicet*; but it is on the road to it. *Secondly*, that observation was conducted with a view to discover αἴτιον, a cause, not *the* cause, as Hamilton puts it, which is a mistake in Greek. *Thirdly*, that Aristotle in Induction distinguished between Causality and Coincidence, as is seen by the words καὶ ταῦτα τυγχάνει μακρόβια ὄντα. *Fourthly*, that the result of observation may extend beyond the actually observed instances. And this brings us up to the question argued in Mill's *Logic*, Book III., why we argue from the observed to the non-observed. And this Mill considers the test of a genuine Induction.

We may now approach the passage in the *Analytics*, with the conviction derived from *De Partibus*, that Aristotle contemplated a group of living things, in each of which met those two peculiarities—non-biliousness and longevity. Of longevity, non-biliousness is set down as a cause, while mere coincidence is suggested as possible.

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'Induction, or the Inductive Process, means that the Major term is in the Middle through the Minor; that is, if B is the Middle of A and C, we then show that A through C is in B. E.g. let A be the universal *long-lived*, B the universal *void-of-bile*, and C every long-lived particular concrete thing, as men, horses, mules. A is given as in the whole C, for each particular thing devoid of bile is long-lived; and B also, the universal *void-of-bile*, is given as in each C. If, now, C is convertible with B, and does not extend beyond the Middle, A is necessarily in B. For it has been before shown, that when any two universals are in the same given thing, and one universal is convertible with the given thing, the other universal is in that universal which is convertible. We must, however, bear in mind that the Minor C is made up of the entire aggregate of all the particulars, for Induction is through and by each and every one.

'A process of this kind, however, is of the first and immediate proposition; for of those propositions which have one Middle, the process is through the Middle; but of those where there is not a Middle, it is by Induction. In one way, Induction is opposed to syllogism; for the latter demonstrates the Major of the Minor through the Middle, but the former the Major of the Middle through the Minor. By nature, therefore, the syllogism proper produced through the Middle is prior or more known, but that by Induction has more vividness for us.'

Aristotle shows, that not only abstract reasoning, but the reasoning of everyday life, is reducible to formal logic. *Οἱ ῥητορικοὶ συλλογισμοὶ* does not mean sophisms clothed in fine language, but the arguments of debate, of the law courts—in a word, of everyday life—the debate and the law courts representing the ordinary prose of the general public. Similarly, Locke and Shaftesbury and Hume

wrote like οἱ ῥήτορες, 'men of the world,' as opposed to the formal deductions of the schoolmen.

The Logic of Aristotle connected his Metaphysics with the ordinary things of the external world. Everything outside us is the result of Form and Matter. If we begin with *Form*, we have the order—φύσει—of Logic; if we begin with *Matter*, we have the order πρὸς ἡμᾶς. We human beings hear a noise before we look for its cause; but φύσει—in the order of Logic—the cause was the prior of the two. The formal ingredient in the thing was recognized by the νοῦς, or understanding in us; its material complement produced sensation, and though subsequent in the order of Logic, is prior in the order of Time. A man, like Punch's burglar, falls over a coal-scuttle in the dark before he knows what it is; but it must have been there before he fell over it. To simplify matters, we may call the form the rational, and the matter the sensible, element in Perception. The result of the two is called by Aristotle τόδε τι, something here and now, and of this τόδε τι the formal element is τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, *the being what it was*.¹ If the Serpent was Aristotelean he would have called Adam τόδε τι as here and now in Eden, and Adam's τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι would be ζῶον λογικόν; but if there were more rational animals than one, the τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, though still one, would now be τὸ καθόλου, as covering all rational animals, while the several rational animals in reference to τὸ καθόλου would be τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον, the actual rational animals present in a definite space and time, and plural in

¹ There is no mystery about τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι; i. e. *the being that which answered the question τί ἦν*; What was its meaning or definition. So, in colloquial Greek, *τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὸ λεγόμενον*, Ar. Ran. 1209. And in Plato, δ' ἐγγίγνετο, Crit. 47d.

E. Wallace, *de A.*, Pref., p. xlv ap-

pears to join εἶναι with ἦν; at least he uses the phrase τί ἦν εἶναι without the article, which clearly belongs to εἶναι.

The phrase τὸ μουσικῶν εἶναι is explicable by attraction, as in οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ σοὶ εἶναι τὸ μουσικῶν εἶναι, Aristot. Z iv., i. e. τὸ μουσικόν εἶναι, like licet esse beatis.

number: the animals sent by Alexander to Aristotle would be τὰ καθ' ἑκαστον, here and now, as unicorns, giraffes, &c.

What we call the Syllogism, *i.e.* the Deductive Process, in Aristotle deals exclusively with universals. Of Syllogism, in this sense, we have the Three Figures of every Logic. Of these, the first alone is complete—τέλειον, as concluding from the data as they stand, and each premiss being analytic.—*An. Pr.*, I., iv., 15. It may be illustrated by a telescope of three joints: for universals properly relate to Comprehension only, and, from the point of view of Comprehension, the Major telescopes into the Middle, and the Middle telescopes into the Minor. But this process, according to Aristotle, does not mean a mere shuffling of a pack of logical cards, or the juggling of the oyster-shells *subject* and *predicate* in the hands of Locke's monkey, but a real objective connection between the universals as formal; that is, as containing the three causes of Aristotle, the formal, the efficient, and the final. It must not be forgotten that Aristotle differs from Plato, not as to the existence of the Idea, but as to the manner of its existence—as to whether it is χωριστὸν or not. The point is discussed fully in the *Metaphysics*, M. and N., and elsewhere. But it is vital in his logic—ὑπάρχει ἐκάστω γένει ἕνια, καὶ εἰ μὴ χωριστὰ ἐστίν, ἧ τοιονδὶ ἑκαστον—*An. Post.* I. xviii. 7.

With regard to the Second and Third Figures, I may remark, that in the order of Greek the predicate comes first; hence in the Second Figure the order in the diagram would be—*Middle, Major, Minor*; and in the third—*Major, Minor, Middle*. Of the respective relations of the Major to the Middle in the two figures, Aristotle uses the words πρὸς τῷ μέσῳ and τὸ πορρώτερον. In the diagram they would be ranged as above. In his lectures on Logic, as everywhere else, Aristotle would appeal to τὰ καθ' ἑκαστον; but he would intellectualise the appeal by giving the reasons therefor. In the second figure, the Middle

term universalises the Major term, and in the third, the Middle term particularises the Minor term. Hence, in each figure, one extreme is more closely connected with the Middle than the other.

For the purpose of this Paper, Aristotle's division of Deductive Syllogisms into Apodictic and Dialectic need not detain us, as it relates only to the matter of each proposition; and in the *Topica*, I. i. 5, he defines the Dialectic Syllogism to be $\delta \text{ ἐξ ἐνδόξων συλλογισζόμενος} : \text{ἐνδόξων}$, being a retort on Plato, who, of course, rejects $\delta \text{ δοκεῖ}$ as the criterion, and takes as his motto $\epsilonἰς ἀντὶ μυρίων$; while Aristotle, like the Radicals, asserts $\delta \text{ δοκεῖ πᾶσιν τοῦτ' εἶναι}$. The telescope shut will represent the Syllogism in Comprehension, and drawn out that in Extension, reversing the order of their terms. With the Syllogism in Extension we are not concerned.

The meaning of $\tauὰ \text{ καθ' ἕκαστον}$ is all-important in the explanation of Aristotle's Induction. $\tauὰ \text{ καθ' ἕκαστον}$ are not, of course, the particular propositions of logic quantified by *some*, but the several actual concrete things, horse and mule: Socrates in his dress shoes: the Surgery which Aristotle sold; Alexander and Bucephalus. The purpose of Aristotle's Induction is to show that one universal is connected objectively *in rerum natura* with another universal (as cause and effect), by and through their co-existence in each $\tauὸ \text{ καθ' ἕκαστον}$ or $\tauὸδε \text{ τι}$; so that taking C, the minor, to represent concrete men, concrete horses, and concrete mules, A, the universal *longevity*, is proved to be the effect of B, the universal *bilelessness*, by their simultaneous presence in every several concrete member of the entire aggregate of similar concretes, C. Briefly, the connexion of the universals is shown by their co-existence in each concrete. They are given as co-existing in each concrete, and their further peculiar relation is inferred from their actual co-existence in certain definite concretes *only*.

The key of the position is the relation of the minor—or group of concretes—to the middle—or the efficient universal. The minor, Aristotle tells us, must be made up of the concretes united. That is one condition. There is another. The minor must be convertible with the middle. (Of course in the way in which the extension of one term is related to the comprehension of an equivalent; that is, the comprehension and extension are respectively equal.) Aristotle's words are, εἰ οὖν ἀντιστρέφει τὸ Γ τῷ Β, εἰ with the indicative always meaning *if* and *if only*, and *not otherwise*. But he adds the words, καὶ μὴ ὑπερτείνει τὸ μέσον. The only extension mentioned in the passage is the line of non-bilious longlived ζῶα, men, horses, mules. If, then, there are other horses which are longlived but bilious, and if there are other longlived men and mules in that depressing condition, why then we cannot allege that longevity is due either to the absence or presence of bile. Aristotle, by his mother, was connected with Chalcis, where he retired on the death of Alexander, and mentions in *de Partibus*, in the chapter quoted above, that the sheep there have no χολή, or gall-bladder; whereas in the sheep of Naxos it is monstrously large. The sheep in Chalcis he probably observed himself. Of course the scientific value of the result is of no importance. If it be said that non-biliousness is a negation, and so cannot cause anything, the answer is, that non-biliousness is the result of positive conditions, *de p. a.* IV., ii. 6-7. Aristotle also recognises negative conditions as producing positive results. His example of a negative condition is better than Mill's. Mill's is: the army was surprised because the sentinel was off his post. But this implies a new positive condition, the presence of the enemy. Aristotle's is: the absence of the captain lost the ship, when his presence would have saved it. This is a perfect example of the Method of Difference.—Δ II.

The account of the several concretes is not yet com-

plete. In the first instance, a human being is informed of the presence of τὰ καθ' ἑκαστον by αἴσθησις. But αἴσθησις is not the mere flux of the Sensationists, ancient and modern, but is saturated with intelligence—νοῦς. Αἴσθησις, says Aristotle, is of the universal: αἴσθησις perceives that the τὸδε τι is a man, but not the man Callias. What, then, is the matter of αἴσθησις? The ὕλη of Aristotle is that which has the promise and the potency of receiving the Forms: that is, the three causes of Aristotle. In a word, it is the residue of Form, although adapted thereto. It is not an outcast, or a rejected superfluity, but εἰδός τι. It is that which furnishes the padding or stuffing of the Forms, and Aristotle's statement is still the most plausible argument against pure Idealism. Supposing Idealism true, he says, ἐξ ὧν γὰρ ὑποτίθενται καὶ λέγουσιν, οὐθὲν μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν σωμάτων λέγουσι περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν. Διὸ περὶ πυρός ἢ γῆς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων τῶν σωμάτων οὐδ' ὅτι οὐκ εἰρήκασιν, αἶτε οὐθὲν περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν οἶμαι λεγόντες ἴδιον—A. 7.

If this be kept in sight, it follows that Aristotle would not have admitted that individuals—τὰ καθ' ἑκαστον—τὰ ἀμερῇ—τὰ ἄτομα—result from the mere cleavage of the pure universal. Hence, what Hamilton objects to, that Aristotle confounded singulars and particulars, is his merit, and from this it follows that the familiar deductive process which we call syllogism, and which deals with universals, cannot be the type of Induction which proves Causality by brigading individuals.

In opposition to the above, I extract Mr. Grote's note:—

An. Pr. II. xxiii., p. 68, b. 18.

Ολον ἔστω τὸ Α μακρόβιον, τὸ δ' ἐφ' ᾧ Β τὸ χολὴν μὴ ἔχον, ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ Γ τὸ καθ' ἑκαστον μακρόβιον, ολον ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἵππος καὶ ἡμίονος. Τῷ δὲ Γ ὅλη ὑπάρχει τὸ Α· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἄχολον μακρόβιον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Β, τὸ μὴ ἔχειν χολήν, παντὶ ὑπάρχει τῷ Γ. Εἰ οὖν ἀντιστρέφει τὸ Γ τῷ Β καὶ μὴ ὑπερτείνει τὸ μέσον, ἀνάγκη τὸ Α τῷ Β ὑπάρχειν.

I have transcribed this Greek text as it stands in the editions of Buhle, Bekker, Waitz, and F. Didot. Yet, notwithstanding these high authorities, I venture to contend that it is not wholly correct; that the word *μακρόβιον*, which I have emphasized, is neither consistent with the context, nor suitable for the point which Aristotle is illustrating. Instead of *μακρόβιον*, we ought in that place to read *ἄχολον*; and I have given the sense of the passage in my English text as if it did stand *ἄχολον* in that place.

I proceed to justify this change. If we turn back to the edition by Julius Pacius (1584, p. 377), we find the text given as follows after the word *ἡμίονος* (down to that word the text is the same):—*τῷ δὲ Γ ὅλῳ ὑπάρχει τὸ Α· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ Γ μακρόβιον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Β, τὸ μὴ ἔχον χολήν, παντὶ ὑπάρχει τῷ Γ. εἰ οὖν ἀντιστρέφει τὸ Γ τῷ Β, καὶ μὴ ὑπερτείνει τὸ μέσον, ἀνάγκη τὸ Α τῷ Β ὑπάρχειν.* Earlier than Pacius, the edition of Erasmus (Basil, 1550) has the same text in this chapter.

Here it will be seen that in place of the words given in Waitz's text, *πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἄχολον μακρόβιον*, Pacius gives *πᾶν γὰρ τὸ Γ μακρόβιον*, annexing however to the letter Γ an asterisk referring to the margin, where we find the word *ἄχολον* inserted in small letters, seemingly as a various reading not approved by Pacius. And M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire has accommodated his French translation (p. 328) to the text of Pacius: 'Donc A est à C tout entier, car tout C est longève.' Boethius, in his Latin translation (p. 519), recognises as his original *πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἄχολον μακρόβιον*, but he alters the text in the words immediately preceding:—'*Ergo toti B (instead of toti C) inest A, omne enim quod sine cholera est, longævum,*' &c. (p. 519). The edition of Aldus (Venet. 1495) has the text conformable to the Latin of Boethius: *τῷ δὲ Β ὅλῳ ὑπάρχει τὸ Α, πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἄχολον μακρόβιον.* Three distinct Latin translations of the 16th century are adapted to the same text, viz. that of Vives and Valentinus (Basil, 1542); that published by the Junta (Venet. 1552), and that of Cyriacus (Basil, 1563). Lastly, the two Greek editions of Sylburgh (1587), and Casaubon (Lugduni, 1590), have the same text also: *τῷ δὲ Β ὅλῳ ὑπάρχει τὸ Α; πᾶν γὰρ [τὸ Γ] τὸ ἄχολον μακρόβιον.* Casaubon prints in brackets the words *[τὸ Γ]* before *τὸ ἄχολον*.

Now it appears to me that the text of Bekker and Waitz (though

Waitz gives it without any comment or explanation) is erroneous; neither consisting with itself, nor conforming to the general view enunciated by Aristotle of the Syllogism for Induction. I have cited two distinct versions, each different from this text, as given by the earliest editors: in both the confusion appears to have been felt, and an attempt made to avoid it, though not successfully.

Aristotle's view of the Syllogism from Induction is very clearly explained by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire in the instructive notes of his translation, pp. 326-328; also in his preface, p. lvii:—L'induction n'est au fond qu'un syllogisme dont le mineur et le moyen sont d'extension égale. Du reste, il n'est qu'une seule manière dont le moyen et le mineur puissent être d'égale extension; c'est que le mineur se compose de toutes les parties dont le moyen représente la totalité. D'une part, tous les individus; de l'autre, l'espèce totale qu'ils forment. L'intelligence fait aussitôt équation entre les deux termes égaux.'

According to the Aristotelian text, as given both by Pacius and the others, A, the major term, represents *longævum* (long-lived, the class-term or total); B, the middle term, represents *vacans bile* (bileless, the class-term or total); C, the minor term, represents the aggregate individuals of the class *longævum*, man, horse, mule, &c.

Julius Pacius draws out the Inductive Syllogism thus:—

1. omnis homo, equus, asinus, &c., est longævus.
2. omnis homo, equus, asinus, &c., vacat bile; Ergo;
3. Quicquid vacat bile, est longævum

Convertible into a syllogism in Barbara:—

1. Omnis, homo, equus, asinus, &c., est longævus.
2. Quicquid vacat bile, est homo, equus, asinus, &c., Ergo
3. Quicquid vacat bile, est longævum.

Here the force of the proof (or the possibility, in this exceptional case, of converting a syllogism in the Third figure into another in *Barbara* of the First figure) depends upon the equation or co-extensiveness (not enunciated in the premisses, but assumed in addition to the premisses) of the minor term C with the middle term B. But I contend that this is *not* the condition peremptorily required, or sufficient for proof, if we suppose C the minor term to

represent *omne longævum*. We must understand C the minor to represent *omne vacans bile*, or *quicquid vacat bile*: and unless we understand this the proof fails. In other words, *homo, equus, asinus, &c.* (the aggregate of individuals), must be co-extensive with the class-term *bile-less* or *vacans bile*: but they need not be co-extensive with the class-term *long-lived* or *longævum*. In the final conclusion the subject *vacans bile* is distributed; but the predicate *longævum* is not distributed. This latter may include, besides all *bile-less* animals, any number of other animals, without impeachment of the syllogistic proof.

Such being the case, I think that there is a mistake in the text as given by all the editors, from Pacius down to Bekker and Waitz. What they give, in setting out the terms of the Aristotelian syllogism from Induction, is: ἔστω τὸ Α μακρόβιον, τὸ δ' ἐφ' ᾧ Β τὸ χολὴν μὴ ἔχον, ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ Γ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον μακρόβιον, οἷον ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἵππος καὶ ἡμίονος. Instead of which the text ought to run, ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ Γ, τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον ἄχολον, οἷον ἄνθρ. κ ἵπ. κ. ἡμι. That these last words were the original text is seen by the words immediately following: τῷ δὲ Γ ὅλῳ ὑπάρχει τὸ Α· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἄχολον μακρόβιον. For the reason thus assigned (in the particle γὰρ) is irrelevant and unmeaning if Γ designates τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον μακρόβιον, while it is pertinent and even indispensable if Γ designates τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον ἄχολον. Pacius (or those whose guidance he follows in his text) appears to have perceived the incongruity of the reason conveyed in the words πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἄχολον μακρόβιον; for he gives, instead of these words, πᾶν γὰρ τὸ Γ μακρόβιον. In this version the reason is indeed no longer incongruous, but simply useless and unnecessary; for when we are told that A designates the class *longævum*, and that Γ designates the individual *longæva*, we surely require no reason from without to satisfy us that A is predicable of all Γ. The text, as translated by Boethius and others, escapes that particular incongruity, though in another way, but it introduces a version inadmissible on other grounds. Instead of τῷ δὲ Γ ὅλῳ ὑπάρχει τὸ Α, πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἄχολον μακρόβιον, Boethius has τῷ δὲ Β ὅλῳ ὑπάρχει τὸ Α, πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἄχολον μακρόβιον. This cannot be accepted, because it enunciates the conclusion of the syllogism as if it were one of the premisses. We must remember that the conclusion of

the Aristotelian Syllogism from Induction is, that A is predicable of B, one of the premisses to prove it being that A is predicable of the minor term C. But obviously we cannot admit as one of the premisses the proposition that A may be predicated of B, since this proposition would then be used as premiss to prove itself as conclusion.

If we examine the Aristotelian Inductive Syllogism which is intended to conduct us to the final *probandum*, we shall see that the terms of it are incorrectly set out by Bekker and Waitz, when they give the minor term Γ as designating τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον μακρόβιον. This last is not one of the three terms, nor has it any place in the syllogism. The three terms are:—

1. A—major—the class-term or class μακρόβιον—*longævum*.
2. B—middle—the class-term or class ἀχολον—bile-less.
3. C—minor—the individual bile-less animals, man, horse, &c.

There is no term in the syllogism corresponding to the individual *longæva* or long-lived animals; this last (I repeat) has no place in the reasoning. We are no way concerned with the totality of long-lived animals: all that the syllogism undertakes to prove is, that in and among that totality all bile-less animals are included: whether there are or are not other long-lived animals besides the bile-less, the syllogism does not pretend to determine. The equation or co-extensiveness required (as described by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire in his note) is not between the individual long-lived animals and the class, bile-less animals (middle term), but between the aggregate of individual animals known to be bile-less and the class, bile-less animals. The real minor term, therefore, is (not the individual long-lived animals, but) the individual bile-less animals. The two premisses of the Inductive Syllogism will stand thus:

Men, Horses, Mules, &c., are long-lived (major).
 Men, Horses, Mules, &c., are bile-less (minor).

And inasmuch as the subject of the minor proposition is co-extensive with the predicate (which, if quantified according to Hamilton's phraseology, would be, *All* bile-less animals), so that

the proposition admits of being converted simply—the middle term will become the subject of the conclusion, *All bile-less animals are long-lived.*—*Aristotle*, chap. vi. *note* p. 187, 3rd ed.

Upon this I merely repeat that Induction has no premisses as in the deductive type: it merely means that the extension of a term becomes its comprehension, which comprehension contains a second comprehension. The one telescopes into the other, but there is no third. Neither is it the end of Logic, according to Aristotle, to range everything in classes, like the books Mr. Tulliver bought because they were bound alike. The classes—τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον—are prior to us, but the universal is prior φύσει. Without τὸ καθ' ὅλου there could be no καθ' ἕκαστα.

As to the Greek: in τῷ δὴ Γ, δὴ marks concession = *it is given* (by observation); ὅλῳ, *the whole*, as opposed to πᾶν τὸ ἄχολον *each of the parts* of τὸ ἄχολον, is given (by observation) to be μακρόβιον; and B, the universal *non-biliousness*, is likewise given (by observation) in παντὶ τῷ Γ—each member of the whole Γ. The game being made, we only now require the condition that Γ is convertible with B simply; καὶ μὴ ὑπερτείνει τὸ μέσον is added to emphasize the condition that the conversion is simple, for ἀντιστρέφειν of itself means simple conversion; the negative expression of what has been previously stated affirmatively is familiar in Greek from Homer down, ἡμβροτες οὐδ' ἔτυχες; συγκείμενον is the passive of συντίθημι, just as τὸ ὑποκείμενον is that which is placed at the foot of the predicamental line τὸ ἄτομον, τὸ ἄμερες—the individual, and the only matter-of-fact subject of and proposition. Here again, as everywhere in Logic and Metaphysics, a little rudimentary Greek removes whole mountains of Latinised rubbish.

It may be added that if Aristotle meant by καὶ μὴ ὑπερτείνει τὸ μέσον to introduce an additional condition instead of an explanatory clause, which is logically surplusage, he would more naturally have said μηδὲ in place of καὶ μή.

Grote makes τὸ μέσον the nominative to ὑπερτείνει, the accusative of course being τὸ ἔλαττον. I subjoin his note:—

Analyt. Prior. II. xxxiii., p. 68, p. 23.—Εἰ οὖν ἀντιστρέφει τὸ Γ τῷ Β, καὶ μὴ ὑπερτείνει τὸ μέσον, ἀνάγκη τὸ Α τῷ Β ὑπάρχειν.

Julius Pacius translates this: 'Si igitur convertatur τὸ Γ cum Β, nec medium excedat, necesse est τὸ Α τῷ Β inesse.' These Latin words include the same grammatical ambiguity as is found in the Greek original: *medium*, like τὸ μέσον, may be either an accusative case governed by *excedat*, or a nominative case preceding *excedat*. The same may be said of the other Latin translations from Boethius downwards.

But M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire in his French translation, and Sir W. Hamilton in his English translation (*Lectures on Logic*, vol. II. iv., p. 358, Appendix), steer clear of this ambiguity. The former says: 'Si donc C est réciproque à B, et qu'il ne dépasse par le moyen, il est nécessaire alors que A soit à B:' to the same purpose Hamilton, *l. c.* These words are quite plain and unequivocal. Yet I do not think that they convey the meaning of Aristotle. In my judgment, Aristotle meant to say: 'If then C reciprocates with B, and if the middle term (B) does not stretch beyond (the minor C), it is necessary that A should be predicable of B.' To show that this must be the meaning, we have only to reflect on what C and B respectively designate. It is assumed that C designates the sum of individual bile-less animals, and that B designates the class or class-term bile-less, that is, the totality thereof. Now the sum of individuals included in the minor (C) cannot upon any supposition overpass the totality; but it may very possibly fall short of totality; or (to state the same thing in other words) the totality may possibly surpass the sum of individuals under survey, but it cannot possibly fall short thereof. B is here the limit, and may possibly stretch beyond C; but C cannot possibly stretch beyond B. Hence I contend that the translations, both by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire and Sir W. Hamilton, take the wrong side in the grammatical alternative admissible under the words καὶ μὴ ὑπερτείνει τὸ μέσον. The only doubt that could possibly arise in the case was, whether the aggregate of individuals designated by the minor did, or did

not, reach up to the totality designated by the middle term ; or (changing the phrase) whether the totality designated by the middle term did, or did not, stretch beyond the aggregate of individuals designated by the minor. Aristotle terminates this doubt by the words: 'And if the middle term does *not* stretch beyond (the minor).' Of course the middle term does not stretch beyond, when the terms reciprocate ; but when they do not reciprocate, the middle term must be the *more* extensive of the two ; it can *never* be the *less* extensive of the two, since the aggregate of individuals cannot possibly exceed totality, though it may fall short thereof.—*Ib.* p. 190, n. a.

Upon this, it is sufficient to point out that if the extension of Γ went beyond B, B could not be given as in each individual of Γ , and therefore Γ could not be a whole : therefore A could not be in B through every Γ .—Q. A. E. On the other hand, to suppose B more extensive than Γ is impossible, for the only extension given is Γ . Observe Γ is ἐξ ἀπάντων all totalised, while the process ἐπαγωγή is διὰ πάντων through each several moiety.

Again, the next sentence has given rise to controversy ; it runs thus : Δέδεικται γὰρ πρότερον ὅτι ἂν δύο ἅττα τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπάρχῃ καὶ πρὸς θάτερον αὐτῶν ἀντιστρέφῃ τὸ ἄκρον, ὅτι τῷ ἀντιστρέφοντι καὶ θάτερον ὑπάρξει τῶν κατηγορουμένων. Here δέδεικται πρότερον refers to a passage in the previous chapter : ὅταν τὸ A καὶ τὸ B τῷ ὅλῳ τῷ Γ ὑπάρχῃ, ἀντιστρέφῃ δὲ τὸ Γ τῷ B· ἀνάγκη τὸ A παντὶ τῷ B ὑπάρχειν : *An. Pr.* II. xxv., 8. That is, 'when the universals A and B are in the same *whole* C, while C reciprocates with B, then of necessity A is in each and every B', because A is given in C, and therefore in B because equal to C, and therefore in each particular B, and therefore in each particular C. Suppose that Alexander sent Aristotle an ornithorynchus and a dodo, and that the descendant of Æsculapius dissected the presents of the descendant of Achilles, and found them both ἄχολα, he would have said these two

things are dead; but if there are others likewise ἄχολα, and they can escape the soldier and the doctor, why then there are more ἄχολα than I dreamt of, and so far as they are ἄχολα they are μακρόβια. So that when a speaker in the Pnyx or in the Courts said 'of the two witnesses one is a Cretan, and the other is a Lorian,' Aristotle's point is that the Rhetor is as much a Logician as the scientist—for the extension of *Cretan* closes up into the comprehension, that is the universal—*Cretan*, in which is the comprehension or universal *liar*, which is in each Cretan, and therefore in the witness. The extension of the middle is always (as lawyers say) capable of 'opening and letting in' the extension of the minor; but if the minor extended beyond the middle, then some of the minor must be left out in the cold. In that case the major would not be in the middle through every particular of the minor, and the speaker could not say this witness is a Cretan, and therefore a liar. So when Demosthenes says there was a plentiful crop of traitors, the middle is *philippiser*, and the inference is, Æschines was a traitor.

Hamilton takes a different view of the sentence δέδεικται γὰρ, κ. τ. λ., which I subjoin:—

For ἄκρον, I read μέσον; but perhaps the true lection is—πρὸς τοῦτο θάτερον αὐτῶν ἀντιστρέφη τῶν ἄκρων. The necessity of an emendation becomes manifest from the slightest consideration of the context. In fact, the common reading yields only nonsense; and this on sundry grounds—1°. There are three things to which θάτερον is here applicable, and yet it can only apply to two. But if limited, as limited it must be, to the two inhereents, two absurdities emerge. 2°. For the middle, or common, notion, in which both the others inhere, that, in fact, here exclusively wanted, is alone excluded. 3°. One, too, of the inhereents is made to reciprocate with either; that is, with itself, or other. 4°. Of the two inhereents, the minor extreme is that which, on Aristotle's doctrine of Induction, is alone considered as reciprocating with the middle

or common term. But, in Aristotle's language, τὸ ἄκρον, 'The Extreme,' is (like ἡ πρότασις, *The Proposition*, in the common language of the logicians), a synonym for the major, in opposition to, and in exclusion of, the minor term. In the two short correlative chapters, the present and that which immediately follows, on Induction and on Example, the expression, besides the instance in question, occurs at least seven times; and in all as the major term. 5°. The emendation is required by the demonstration itself, to which Aristotle refers. It is found in the chapter immediately preceding (5), and is as follows:—'Again, when A and B inhere in all C, and when C reciprocates with B, it necessarily follows that A should (partially, at least), inhere in (all) B. For whilst A (some, at least), inheres in all C; and (all) C, by reason of their reciprocity, inheres in (all) B, A will also (some, at least) inhere in all B.'—*Lectures*, vol. iv., p. 359, n. β.

I explain my view by translating as follows: 'If A and C are in B, and if in the two pairs A B and C B, C—one τὸ ἄκρον—is convertible with B, the other τὸ ἄκρον = θᾶτερον αὐτῶν = A will be in C.' The difficulty was occasioned by the first θᾶτερον, which means the other than either τὸ ἄκρον; that is the *non* τὸ ἄκρον in each. Hamilton objects that τὸ ἄκρον is the major term; but in Induction, which is the quasi-Third Figure, the minor is nearer the middle, which is the cause, συμβαίνει ἄρα ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ζητήσεσι ζητεῖν, ἢ εἰ ἔστι μέσον ἢ τί ἔστι τὸ μέσον. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἷτιον τὸ μέσον, ἐν ἅπασιν δι τοῦτο ζητεῖται.—*An. Post.* II. ii., 2. In the minor, then, we must look for the presence or absence of the cause which, *ipso jure*, attracts the major.

Waitz, to add to the confusion, reverses Aristotle's definition: Fit Inductio, cum per minorem terminum demonstratur medium praedicari de majore. This may be merely a lapsus, but it is certainly wrong as it stands, as may be seen above—p. 4.

The exact sense of ἐπαγωγή and its opposite ἀπαγωγή is not so easy to see. It may express the formation of indi-

viduals into a universal, which is the first step to knowledge, and then it may be a military term, for it occurs in the very striking passage where the function of the universal is illustrated by a reference to battle, *ὅλον ἐν μάχῃ τροπῆς γενομένης ἐνὸς στάντος ἑτερος ἔστη, εἴθ' ἑτερος ἔως ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν ἦλθεν*.—*An. Post.* II. xix., 5. The Verb is used in Plato of examples *πυκνότερα ἐπάγειν*.—*Crat.* 420 *e*. At all events, in *ἐπαγωγὴ* the conclusion is more certain than the first step *δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ἡμῖν τὰ πρῶτα ἐπαγωγῇ γνωρίζειν ἀναγκαῖον*.—*An. Post.* II. xix., 6. In *ἀπαγωγὴ*, on the contrary, the minor is less certain than the major, which is certain, and the conclusion is either equally certain with the minor or even less certain.

If you feel certain quite
That we were probably changed at nurse,
I'll venture to say you're right

is an *ἀπαγωγὴ*. So that the terms may mean *bringing nearer to*, and *bringing away from*, Certitude. So *ἀπαγωγὴ εἰς τὸ ἀδύνατον* is a bringing away; but, as Hamilton points out, *ἀπαγωγὴ* alone never means *ad impossibile*.

The literature of Induction would fill a library, so I have confined my notices to the two, Hamilton and Grote. Hamilton was a formal Aristotelian of the highest order, and Grote an Aristotelian from the material side, and in complete sympathy with the Peripatetics in their dissent from the Academy. The world has much reason to regret that Grote did not devote his powers to the elucidation of Aristotle instead of Plato. As to Plato, Grote has never reached the transcendental point of view; but this deficiency he shares with Mill, Lewes, Huxley, F. Harrison, and Herbert Spencer. His blindness to Platonism affects his treatment of Aristotle's Logic, for Aristotle builds his Logic on his metaphysics, as every consistent thinker must. Without a metaphysical basis, Logic becomes purely

formal, and is as unmeaning as a pepper-grinder without pepper, or the jack of Scriblerus with nothing to roast. Or, in the absence of metaphysics, we may have a verbal Logic, just as Whately defined it as the Art and Science of General Terms. In this sense, Logic would merely amount to this, that if we want to be understood we ought to use words in the same sense. But there is nothing more unmeaning than to find elaborate disquisitions on genus and difference, property and accident, in writers who eschew universals as totally as sandals. Nothing is gained by substituting classes for Universals, as classes are merely the extension—*τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον*—of the universal—*τὸ καθόλου*.¹ All Mathematical Logics may be set aside, as they take for granted totality and equality, notions which look more or less transcendental. And if anyone thinks he can construct a purely formal Logic without some metaphysical theory, it may be safely suggested to him to try it. The merit of Aristotle is that he never lost sight of the concrete.

¹ In *τὸ καθ' ὅλου*, the preposition denotes down from the top as in *κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρῆνων*, *κατ' ὀμμάτων*, and refers, probably, to the diagram. In *τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον*—the correct phrase plural-

ised into *τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα*—the preposition with the acc. denotes rest, where the predicamental line ended, the base of the column. So *μαχόμεν κατ' ἑμάντων*, *I depended on no one else*.

T. MAGUIRE.

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ON THE ALPHABETICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE NINTH AND TENTH PSALMS.

THE ninth and tenth Psalms are partly alphabetical : the former including the first half of the alphabet, the latter, imperfectly, the second half. They are treated as one Psalm by the LXX. and Vulgate, and by many moderns. There are, however, obvious difficulties in this view. In Ps. ix. the writer speaks with confidence and exultation of the destruction of the impious ; whereas in Ps. x. the tone is one of complaint and supplication. Supplication followed by confident hope would be intelligible, but not the reverse. On the other hand, there seems to be nothing improbable in the supposition that a writer composing an alphabetical song should limit himself to half the alphabet. Another writer may then have thought of dealing similarly with the second half, either in connection with the former Psalm, or simply because he began with למה, 'Wherefore?'

If the last two verses of Ps. ix. are an original part of the Psalm, this seems the only possible hypothesis, for these cannot be made to fit into the alphabetical arrangement except by the forced supposition that פ stands as the equivalent of ג. These verses, however, are probably an addition by a later writer.

However, my present purpose is not to discuss this secondary question, but to see whether we can make any steps towards restoring the alphabetical arrangement where it is lost in the present text.

It is first to be observed that in both Psalms each letter has four clauses, or, according to the received division, two

verses. Now Ps. ix., leaving out the last two verses, has only thirty-six clauses. The last pair commence with ך, and the preceding pair with ך. These are usually assigned together to ך; but in that case the writer would have stopped one letter short of half the alphabet, and the writer of Ps. x. would have left out the same letter. Bickell, indeed, meets this by transpositions in the latter Psalm, which he makes to commence with v. 3. But we may not unreasonably suppose the two letters ך and ך to have had originally only two clauses each. A more serious defect is between v. 6 and v. 10. The former verse begins with ך, and then the alphabetical arrangement is lost until we come to v. 10, which begins with ך, and there are only eight clauses (instead of twelve) for ך and the three following letters. Probably, therefore, some entire clauses have been lost, or else the writer did not adhere throughout to the tetrastich arrangement. On the former supposition, of course complete restoration is impossible.

Now, as to the He stanza, we might expect to find v. 8 beginning with this letter. It does not; but then the last word in v. 7 begins with it and is out of place in that verse. It is generally admitted that this word *המה* should be transferred to v. 8, and a verb, such as *אבדו* (Delitzsch, Bickell) or *יאבדו* (Ley, Dyserinck, Graetz) supplied after it. Verse 7 is obviously corrupt. The English version, harsh as it is ('O thou enemy, destructions are come to a perpetual end'), does not naturally arise out of the Hebrew. The verb *תמו* does not mean 'have ceased,' but 'have been completed.' The same objection applies to the Revised Version, which takes *הרבות* as a second predicate to *האויב*, which is supposed to be construed as if plural—('The enemy are come to an end, they are desolate for ever'). Moreover, 'ruins' is not a very suitable predicate for 'enemy.' Other interpretations are: 'The enemy, they are gone! Ruins for ever' (Köster).

'The enemy, completed are ruins for ever' (viz. of his buildings). Olshausen, who suggests the last, prefers to regard האויב as an interpolation, perhaps a gloss on רשע. Hitzig corrects חרבות to חרפות, 'reproaches,' retaining the objectionable explanation of תמו as 'have ceased.'

I propose to adopt this emendation, and then to change תמו into דמו. Confusion of ת and ד is not without example: cf. Ezek. xxii. 4, where the Eastern codices read עת for עד; Haggai, i. 2, where the first עת should be עד: i.e., instead of 'the time is not come, the time,' read 'the time is not yet come;' Prov. i. 11, where דם should certainly be תם, 'Let us lay wait for the perfect,' instead of 'for blood.' The parallelism supports this, the next clause having 'the innocent.' I would, further, transpose האויב, which is certainly out of place, and put it after חרפות, thus obtaining an excellent sense: 'Silenced are the reproaches of the enemy for ever.' Or, perhaps, האויב may be a gloss on ערים, translated 'cities.' This word occurs Ps. cxxxix. 20, and in two other places, in the Aramaic sense of 'enemy.' It is probably a textual error in all these places; but, as it is in the text, a glosser might have thought it bore that sense here also. It is true that the stanzas of ג and ד are by this reconstruction shorter than we should expect, and it is possible that two verses are lost; but as the reconstruction not only gives us a verse beginning with ד, but also a much improved sense, it is, I think, probable.

Psalm x. is in a worse state. After Lamed, with which it begins, we have no verse commencing with the proper letter until the twelfth (פ); that is, six letters are missing. But as we know nearly the length of a stanza, we look about for the missing letters, and we actually find three of them very near the expected places. First, נאץ יהוה, now ending verse 3, may very well commence verse 4, as

it actually does in the LXX. and Vulgate. This agrees, moreover, with verse 13, where the substance of the verse is repeated. As for the word בִּרְךְ, in verse 3, that is merely a euphemism, intended to be substituted by the reader for the following word, נֶאֱמַר, the utterance of which with the name of God was carefully avoided. There are other passages in which בִּרְךְ has taken the place of נֶאֱמַר in the text itself, such as Job, i. 5; ii. 5, 9; 1 Kings, xxi. 10. Some suppose that in these cases it was a euphemism adopted by the original writer; but in the present instance that explanation is inadmissible, inasmuch as one of the words supposed to be euphemistically avoided actually follows.

We find the letter Pe beginning the second word of verse 7, which reads, 'of cursing his mouth is full, and deceit, and fraud.' An obvious suggestion is to transpose אֱלֹהִים after מֵלֵא (Bickell); and in favour of this it may be said that, from similarity of sound, it might easily have dropped out here. But the rhythmical balance is much better without the word, and so is the sense, as 'cursing, deceit, and fraud' do not go very well together. Now it is to be observed that the words preceding this (viz. at the end of the sixth verse) are corrupt.

לְדֹר וְדֹר אֲשֶׁר לֹא בָרַע, 'to generation and generation who not in evil.' A verb is clearly wanting. Olshausen suggests that the verb may be found in אֲשֶׁר, for which he proposes to read אֲשֶׁב, 'I shall abide for ever, without being in misfortune'; but he admits that this negative addition does not sound quite natural. Bickell adopts אֲשֶׁב, and adds בְּאִיתָן. Another suggestion is, to find the verb in בָּרַע, which is then altered to אֲבָרַע, 'I shall not bow down, i. e. fall' (cf. Ps. xx. 9 and xvii. 13). This is Krochmal's conjecture, adopted by Graetz, who, however, also changes אֲשֶׁר to אֲשֶׁרִי, 'In my goings I shall not fall.' This seems to be quite unsuitable to the verb בָּרַע, which

means not to slip so as to fall, but to bow down, and then to sink by collapse (as of Jehoram, when wounded, it is said that he sank down in his chariot).

Now, as we have seen that verse 7 probably ought to begin with **פִּירֹהוּ**, it follows that **אלה** may belong to verse 6. If so, the missing verb may lurk in the letters **ברעאלה**. Parallelism suggests that the meaning is probably 'My footsteps shall never slide.' I have little doubt that Graetz is right in suggesting **אֲשֶׁרִי**, instead of **אֲשֶׁר**: the two words would have been written alike in the original texts, but after the verb was lost it was natural to adopt the latter reading. Now, can we suggest any word that might be corrupted into **ברעאלה**? There is a root **רעל**, to which the meaning 'tremble,' 'reel,' is assigned. The verb is found only in hophal = 'be brandished'; but the substantive **רעל** is used of reeling (from intoxication) in Zech. xii. 2 ('cup of reeling'—R.V.). From the same root comes **תִּרְעֵלָה**, 'staggering.' We might then suggest either **ברעלָה** = 'in titubatione,' or the verb **תִּרְעֵל** or **תִּרְעֵלְנָה**, pointing **אֲשֶׁרִי**, singular or plural, accordingly. The confusion of **ב** and **ת** is not impossible: see 2 Sam. xxi. 18, where the Hebrew has **נָב**, and the LXX. **נַת**, as in verse 20. Or better, we might read the first person **אֲרֵעֵלָה**, 'In my steps I shall not totter.' The cohortative, though rare with **לָא**, is possible; I suggest it only as making it easier to account for **אלה**. The rarity of the verb might easily lead to its corruption. Yet it must be noted that the LXX. and *ἄλλος* read **אֲשֶׁר** after **ברע**. Whatever the original reading was, I think it likely that **אלה** is part of the corruption. Of course, the **ו** before **מִרְמָה** will have to be omitted. It was added when **אלה** was made part of verse 7.

I am inclined, however, to suspect that **אֲשֶׁר** has slipped in = **אֲמַר** from the once preceding line. In the old alphabet,

מ and ש are liable to be confounded: see Isaiah, iii. 10, where אמרו should be אשרי; and there are reasons for supposing that in early times the lines contained only fifteen or sixteen letters. See the erroneous repetitions in Levit. xx. 10; Exod. xxx. 6 (mentioned in the *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1887). If this is the case, an easy correction of לא ברע would be: לא אעבר, 'I shall not pass away,' a sense which עבר sometimes has; and אלה might be transposed, as Bickell suggests. I do not venture to suggest לעולם thus: אעבר לעולם. In any case, verse 7 must begin with מ.

Next, ע is found at the beginning of the third clause of verse 8, just about where it ought to come, if it came after פ. There are other instances of this order, as in Lam. ii., iii., iv.; and originally in Ps. xxxiv.

Verse 10, ought to begin the צ stanza: it is so short, that it is clear a word is lost, if not two. Bickell supplies צדו רשע. Or we might supply צדיק, and read the following word (with the margin) ידכה. In the older alphabet צ and י were very similar, and the eye would readily pass from צד to יד.

There remain the Samech and Mem stanzas. Now, just where ס might be expected, we find מרום, which does not yield a good sense. 'Height are thy judgments from before him' is a very bold expression even in poetry for 'far distant from him,' and has, I think, no parallel. Besides, the context requires that 'judgments' be taken, not in the sense of 'precepts,' but of 'punishments,' and to this מרום would be very unsuitable.

I propose to read סרו, the final ס being accounted for by the same letter following. The sense this yields is good: 'Removed are thy judgments from before him.' The letters ס and מ are elsewhere apparently confounded. Compare 1 Kings, xxi. 4, with Ezek. iii. 14. See also 1 Sam. xv. 32, where we should read מר מר, 'death is

bitter, bitter!’ If for the word יחילו, just before, which is very difficult, we read with the Targum יצליחו, ‘are prosperous’ (so Graetz and Lagard), the clauses will correspond well in meaning. The LXX. have for מרום, ἀνταυρεῖται, and the Vulgate has ‘auferuntur.’ These readings suit סרו better than מרום, but they may be only interpretations.

The only letter unaccounted for is מ, and its stanza has only one clause remaining, so that restoration is impossible. ברך, in verse 3, is of course to be omitted, as already mentioned; but, as part of the stanza is lost, we can hardly hope to make good sense of this line. However, as a step towards the solution of the problem, I venture to submit the following remarks to the consideration of the reader:—First, כִּי־הָלֵל, at the beginning of verse 3, cannot be right. The verb in Piel means ‘to praise,’ not ‘to boast.’ It is not construed with עַל, and when used (as it is in late Hebrew) with ל (which would be an easy correction), it means ‘to sing praises to.’ Both senses are quite unsuitable here. This is doubtless the reason why the LXX. and ὁ ἄλλος render it as if Pual ἰπαινεῖται, and not that they had a different reading. The meaning ‘boast’ would require the Hithpael, *ex. gr.* מִתְהַלֵּל, which Graetz suggests, relying on the LXX., and retaining כִּי. But it is more easy to suppose כ written in error for מ, which in the older alphabet it resembled, than to suppose the syllable מֵת dropped. This suggestion is independent of the alphabetical arrangement: but it will be observed that it gives us what we require, a verse beginning with Mem. Secondly, בָּצַע cannot, I think, stand absolutely. The sense ‘covetous’ is hard to defend. The verb is transitive, meaning primarily ‘to cut off,’ and secondarily, ‘to plunder.’ In the latter sense it is, with one exception, followed by the cognate substantive בָּצֵעַ. In the excepted case it is followed

by an accusative of the person. (In Job, xxvii. 8, the sense is 'cut off': see R.V.) Possibly the word עני may have fallen out after it. This would be easy, with ע preceding, and ך following. There would still remain a hiatus which no ingenuity could fill with any certainty; but taking a hint from Ezek. xxii. 12, we may, merely to complete the sense, supply בָּעֵשֶׁק, thus reading בָּצַע עֲנִי וּבְעֵשֶׁק,

‘The wicked boasts of his heart’s desire,
And by oppression plunders the poor.’

Bickell is the only critic who has seriously attempted to restore the alphabetical arrangement of Psalm x. Most critics, indeed, think that from verse 2 to 12 there is no trace of such arrangement—some thinking that the original verses were lost, and that those now existing were added later. Bickell supposes that Ps. ix. ends with a Yod stanza, and that x. begins with Caph. This he finds in verses 3, 4, 5_a, which he transposes before 1. In 3, he reads חלל for הלל, and omits the next four words as a gloss (omitting also בָּרַךְ.) Then verses 1, 2 constitute the Lamed stanza, and 5_{bc}, 6 that of Mem. The Nun and Samech stanzas he supposes to be entirely lost. His suggestions on 7 and 10 have been already mentioned. The suggestions above offered involve much less disturbance of the text. Anyone who tries in a non-alphabetical Psalm to find three given consecutive letters commencing clauses (or possible clauses) at given intervals, will be disposed to admit that the occurrence of Nun, Pe, and ‘Ayin, so near the place where he should look for them, is not fortuitous; and if these stanzas are correctly placed, probability is given to the proposed substitution of ך for ך.

T. K. ABBOTT.

February 18, 1889.

THE WORK OF MAGO ON AGRICULTURE.

IT has often been said by Mommsen and other leading authorities that farming, by capitalists, of great tracts with slave labour was imported to Sicily from Carthage, and that the Carthaginians were the teachers of the Romans in this respect. The theory is based, I think, wholly on two texts. Here is the first—Pliny (xviii. 5), says: ‘Kings also have written on agriculture, such as Hiero, Attalus Philometor [the last of the Attalids], and Archelaus; so have generals, as Xenophon and the Carthaginian Mago, whose work the Senate so honoured, that when after the conquest of Carthage it presented the libraries of the city to the neighbouring kings [Hiempsal is mentioned elsewhere as possessing part of them], it ordered this work in 28 books to be translated into Latin by men skilled in the Punic language, in which task D. Silanus, a distinguished patrician, excelled all the rest.’ The second is from Varro (*de re rustica*, I. 1, 10):—‘All the writers hitherto cited are surpassed in reputation by Mago, the Carthaginian, who wrote in Punic, and embraced the scattered subjects [of agriculture] in 28 books, which Cassius Dionysius of Utica translated in 20 books, and sent [dedicated?] to the prætor Sextius; in which translation he inserted many things from the Greek authors above mentioned, and also omitted 8 books of Mago’s work. Diophanes in Bithynia contracted these 20 books into 6, and sent them to King Deiotarus.’ Columella (*de re rustica*, I. 1, 10, and 13), corroborates these statements, and says Mago is honoured as the *father of agriculture*.

What more do we know of this once famous work?

The opening words are preserved by Columella (I. 1, 18): 'Whosoever desires to buy a country estate, let him sell his town-house, lest he think more of this latter than of his country-seat. If a man is more attached to city life, what does he want with a country estate?' In addition to this quotation, Columella refers to Mago four times for details of vine-culture; for a description of the good points in a draught-ox; on castration; on the breeding of mules; twice on bees; twice on the preservation of fruit. Moreover, in the 'Ἱππιατρικά (*Med. Vet.* II., p. 95), he is cited on the curing of pneumonia in a horse. Pliny also quotes him four times on the growing of trees (nuts, poplars, olives); twice on the planting and sowing of various kinds of grain and vetch. Mago shows in one of these, not only that he had studied the various grasses for meadow, but that he knew the Greek names for them. Varro also quotes him on mules, and on the curing of cattle; he adds to our information that Mago, and after him Dionysius, had treated here and there of the keeping fowl, &c., in a farm-yard. Thus Seius in Sicily seems to have read these, and so to have made more out of a farm-yard than others out of a whole estate (III. 2, 13). These passages, and one or two which I shall cite presently, are collected in the Appendix to the second volume of Heeren's *Ideen*, &c. (I quoted from the 4th ed., Gottingen, 1825, p. 527, *sq.*); and as the work is not always at hand to scholars, I shall here write down the references, viz.: Varro, *de re rust.*, I. 1, §§ 10, 27; II. 5, § 18; III. 2, § 13. Columella, *de re rust.*, I. 1, §§ 10, 13, 18; III. 12, § 5; 15, §§ 4, 5; IV. 10; V. 5, § 4; VI. 1, §§ 2, 3; 26, § 1, *sq.*; 37, § 3; IX. 14, § 6; 15, § 3; XII. 4, § 2; 39, §§ 1, 2; 44, §§ 5, 6; *de arbor.*, 17, 1. Palladius, *de re rust.*, Febr. x. 3; Mai. VII. 1. The 'Ἱππιατρικά, II. p. 95. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XVII. 11, 16, 19, 30; XVIII. 5, 7, 23; XXI. 68, 69. There are thirty-one passages in the list, but several of them are duplicates in sense.

From these scanty remains it appears that Mago's work comprised directions, not only upon agriculture in the stricter sense, but on breeding and caring of cattle, culture of fruit, of bees, in fact of all produce of the farm-yard and garden, as well as of the fields. The only kind of farming which is *not* represented in his fragments is that large culture of wheat which was carried on by droves of slaves; and yet this is precisely what Mommsen attributes to him. The description of the splendid wealth of the neighbourhood of Carthage, when Agathocles invaded it (Diodorus xx. p. 411), as well as the parallel indications of Polybius (i. 29), during the invasion of Regulus, do not point to enormous wheat farms, but to rich villas, surrounded by groves of trees, and much cattle on pastures. Nevertheless, the booty in slaves taken by Regulus amounted to 20,000. There is reason to think that the Libyan subjects of Carthage paid their taxes in wheat; but that does not imply capitalist farming on their part.

The inference, therefore, to be drawn from the facts is this: If the Carthaginians were, indeed, the models of the Romans in this matter, it was in Sicily that wheat farming on a large scale was first applied by them, and, if so, it is not likely to have been taught in the work of Mago; for everything points to this work being current earlier than any large occupation of Sicily by the Carthaginians. Heeren seems quite right in saying that the Mago to whom it was attributed was the first and greatest of the name, who founded the might of Carthage (says Justin), by his military and political reforms, and whose house inherited his power and ruled the State for 150 years. But if this be indeed the alleged author who lived earlier than 500 B.C., I suspect that the attribution of the work to him is but another

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instance of the attributing a great and popular work to an old and popular name. This Mago, a statesman and a general, was supposed to have made Carthage externally great by wars and diplomacy. What was more natural than also to ascribe to him reforms in agriculture, which were, no doubt, carried out by State interference and State education, and to say that the great man spent his leisure in work as important as his official acts? Mago and Hamilcar thought it not beneath their dignity, says Columella, when they had leisure from wars, to bring this tribute to peaceful human life (XII. 4, § 2). Which Hamilcar is meant, and what he had contributed to this subject, we cannot tell. But if this statement implies a belief that the greatest Punic generals were the men who knew most about farming; it seems to me a sort of mythical tradition that made Mago the author. And, if so, it is likely enough that the 28 books were not all in the original work, but that it was gradually enlarged in the days of Hamilcar (either the son of Mago I. or the Barcide) and others, so that it came to represent the accumulated wisdom of centuries. The omission of 8 books in the Greek translation points to the whole not being an artistic unity (like Virgil's *Georgics*), but rather a series of observations and advices. All this is mere conjecture. We have no facts to give us any certain conclusion.

Let us now come to the date and character of the translations. It seems certain, from the statement of Pliny above quoted, that the Latin translation was the first, and that it was made shortly after the destruction of Carthage—about 140 B.C. I connect it with those public complaints about the decay of agriculture in Italy, which are always introduced by the historians in connection with the agitation of Tib. Gracchus. It may have been one of many small measures by which men at Rome tried either to

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obstruct, or to help the great agrarian reform which was so needful. The last edition, abridged into 6 books, by Diophanes of Bithynia, may have been made about 60 B. C., when Deiotarus had been established in Galatia by Pompey.¹

It remains to determine the date and object of the Greek translation of Cassius Dionysius, which the Roman Senate would certainly have used for their Latin edition, had it existed when the Senate ordered the publication of the book. If we could determine a prætor Sextius, especially a prætor of the province of Africa, between these limits (140 and 60 B. C.), the composition of this important and very independent version would be so far determined.

I propose to solve this problem by a combination resting on conjecture, but which, I hope, may yet be verified by sufficient evidence. There was a C. Sextius Calvinus, consul in 124 B. C., that is to say, at the rise of C. Gracchus in importance, and, probably enough, a partizan of his views. This Sextius was afterwards concerned in founding a colony at Aquæ Sextiæ, which consequently took his name (122 B. C.). He came of an old plebeian family, as a Sextius had been the first plebeian made consul (Plut., *Camill.* 42). I have not yet found evidence that before the consulship of C. Sextius he had been prætor in Africa; but this is highly probable, as Plutarch elsewhere refers to a Sextius Sylla as a Carthaginian author in Antiquities, which seems a formation like that of Cassius Dionysius, the translator now before us—both arising from their being clients of great Romans who had resided in the province of Africa. It is therefore no great strain upon the facts to conjecture that this C. Sextius

¹ Cicero (*pro rege Deiot.*, § 27) speaks of this king, who was a personal friend of his, as being *diligentissimus agricola*

et pecuarius, which sounds as if he were the person in question.

was interested in the colonizing schemes of C. Gracchus, embracing not only Carthage and Narbo, which Sextius may have visited during his command in Gaul, but also the ancient sites in Magna Græcia (Scylacium, Tarentum), which had always been the home of Greek-speaking people. But this is of less importance than the fact that the colonies of Gracchus were not to be narrow Roman settlements on old-fashioned principles, but mercantile and cosmopolitan, introducing the best methods of production and exchange. There can be no doubt that for such communities, planted in outlying Roman dependencies, Greek must be the *lingua franca* in which all their business would be transacted; nay, the only common language understood by Massiliots, Phœnicians, and Italiots, surrounding the new colonies. The rich plains of Magna Græcia were now deserted and barren; the soil of Provence very probably had not yet been scientifically farmed; the ruin of Carthage had also marred the industry which turned its suburbs into gardens as rich as those we now wonder at around Palermo.

I take the translation then to have been made in connexion with these new settlements of C. Gracchus. Plutarch tells us (*C. Gracchus*) that the most cultivated (*χαριέστεροι*) class of citizens was induced to settle at Tarentum and Scylacium, by which, probably, he means people who already knew Greek. Accordingly, the client of the Cassiagens at Utica was induced to give a modern Greek version, with practical omissions and additions, dedicated to the prætor Sextius, who was known as a supporter of the new policy.

The whole of this argument may seem endangered by the fact that some of the MSS. read, not Sextius, but Sextilius, (adopted by Keil); in which case the prætor might be the governor of Africa named by Plutarch at the moment of

Marius's exile (101 B.C.?). But here, too, there is the same doubt about the name; Appian gives Sextius for the name of this officer, and his authority is probably better than Plutarch's under these circumstances; and seeing that there are no discoverable reasons for the appearance of a Greek version of Mago during the civil wars which wrecked the Roman world, I hold to the reading Sextius in Varro, and suggest that the translation in question was in concert with the plans of C. Gracchus.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

CICERONIANA.

ATT. v. I. 1.

Ego vero et tuum in discessu vidi animum, et meo sum ipse testis.

BUT Cicero almost always has a gen. after *testis*, the other constructions used by him being *de* with abl., *in* with abl., and *in* with accus. The *Codex Ravennas* (R) gives *in eo*. Perhaps the true reading is *mei in eo*. The confusion between *m* and *in* is very common.

ATT. v. I. 2.

De Oppio, factum est ut volui, et maxime, quod DCCC aperuisti.

The verb *aperire* is explained in this passage to mean 'to declare one's willingness to pay.' But this sense is not found elsewhere; and it is very hard to see how the word could possibly have such a meaning. The same is said to be the meaning of *exposuisti*, Att. v. 4. 3, 'you said the money was at his disposal.' But there the MSS give *bene curasti quod de DCCC exposuisti*, and the meaning is obviously, 'thank you for your kindness in *explaining* the transaction,' a most natural meaning of the verb *exponere*. Should we not, in the former passage, also insert *de* before DCCC, and translate, 'you explained about that sum of money'? *Aperire de*, in that sense, is not uncommon: cp., for instance, Auct. ad Herenn. ii. 50, *si de clementia humanitate misericordia nostra . . . aperiemus*.

ATT. v. 4. 4.

Tu vero aufer ducentos.

What word is understood after *ducentos*? The natural word would be *chartas*; but editors have looked for a word to agree with *ducentos*: hence *sestertios*, or *scapos*, have been suggested, or *ducentos* has been changed to *ducentas*. But, preserving *ducentos*, we might regard it as agreeing with *chartas*, in accordance with its archaic gender. The Greek form of the word was *χάρης*, -ου, masc.; and Nonius, 196, 17, writes: '*chartam* generis feminini, masculini Lucilius Lib. xxvii.,' where L. Müller gives *Socratici charti*; but, probably, *Socratici chartae* is the true reading.

ATT. v. 11. 7.

Nam illam *νομαναρία* μετ' excusationem ne acceperis.

The context seems to show that what Cicero meant to convey was, that he did not expect his friend to accept from him the plea of business as a valid excuse for not writing, though he thinks sickness might fairly be alleged in extenuation of irregularity as a correspondent. Perhaps Cicero wrote

Nam illam *νομαίαν ἀργίας* a me excusationem ne acceperis.

'I won't ask you to accept from me the plea of business—Idleness's conventional excuse.'

Of course, he would not have used those two Greek words unless they occurred together in some verse well known to him. Such a verse might have been

πράγματα νομαίαν ἀργίας πρόφασιν λέγω,

'Business I call the idler's hackneyed plea.'

ATT. v. 20. 1.

Inde oppidis iis †que erant† mirabiliter accepti Laodiceam venimus.

Such is the reading of M. Bosius reads *qua ieram*, Klotz *quae intererant*, Wesenberg *quae erant in itinere*, Kayser *per quae erat iter*. But what, then, is the source of the corruption? I think *iis* is also corrupt, and the words †*iis que erant†* conceal the name of a town; perhaps we should read *oppidis usque Hieram*, or *usque Hierapolim*.

ATT. v. 21. 5.

Is, ceteroqui abstinens est, sed Iulia lege †transitans† semel tamen in diem, non, ut alii solebant, in omnibus vicis accepit.

I give the passage as emended by various editors in its other parts, preserving only the corruption, with which I do not think the editors have dealt successfully. I believe that under *transitam* lurks *in transitu*, which was an interlinear explanation of the Greek words, ἐν παρόδῳ, 'in the progress through my province,' or 'in my public entry on my official duties,' which words Cicero has used just before (Att. v. 20. 6). *Iulia lege transita* could not mean 'in violation of the Julian law;' and, if it could, it would be out of place here, for it is clear, from the whole tenor of the passage, that the supplies accepted by Tullius were allowances which were permitted under the Julian law, but which Cicero did not wish his staff to accept. Nor could *transitans* mean 'in my progress.' The meaning is—

Tullius is, on the whole, well-behaved; but, during my progress, under the provisions of the Julian law—only once, however, for the day's needs, not, as others used, at every hamlet—he did take presents.

Cicero often uses *accipere* absolutely in the letters.

ATT. v. 21. 12.

Mihi impudens magis quam stultus videbatur. Nam aut bono nomine centesimis contentus erat aut non bono quaternas centesimas sperabat.

This is usually explained by giving *bonum nomen* the meaning of 'a good debt' in modern parlance; that is, 'a debt which the debtor is likely to discharge in full.' The meaning of *non bonum nomen* is, of course, correlative. But this meaning does not suit the passage as it stands. It would be absurd that Cicero should write: 'either he was satisfied with a certainty of twelve per cent., or he had a chance of payment with forty-eight per cent.' If Scaptius had been satisfied with the certainty of payment at twelve per cent., the whole transaction would at once have been concluded. The Salaminians were most anxious to pay on those terms. But Scaptius would not accept payment, and begged Cicero to let the matter stand over. This, then, cannot be the meaning of *bonum nomen* here. Mr. Watson understands *bonum nomen* to mean a debt recognised by law. Then *bono nomine* would mean 'if he claimed a legal rate of interest, twelve per cent.;' and *non bono*, 'if he demanded, illegally, forty-eight.' This is beset by the same difficulty: he was *not* satisfied with payment, however prompt, at twelve per cent.

I can extract no meaning from the passage as it stands, unless *bono nomine* can mean 'his claim being allowed to be good (acquiesced in) by the Salaminians.' Then all is clear. Scaptius claimed 200 talents as the amount of the principal lent. The Salaminians declared they had only borrowed 106. Scaptius was content with twelve per cent. if they allowed his claim (*bono nomine*); but he preferred, if they disputed his claim (*non bono nomine*), to let the matter stand over, and to take his chance under Cicero's successor, who might decide against the

Salaminians, however just their cause, or allow him to exact forty-eight per cent., in case his claim of 200 talents, as the sum lent, should be disallowed.

If this interpretation seems to strain the meaning of the phrase, I can only suggest to read *contentus esse poterat*. The sentence will then mean: 'I thought he showed more impudence than folly [because he proposed a bargain in which it was all *take* and no *give*], for he could either content himself with the certainty of repayment at a legal rate of interest, or indulge the hope of an illegal forty-eight per cent. under a less scrupulous—in fact, an average—Roman governor.

ATT. vi. 1. 7.

Consistere usura debuit [quae erat in edicto meo].

Editors have not observed that the words which I have enclosed within brackets are not genuine, but proceed from some copyist who did not understand *consistere*. That word means 'to cease to run' (Digest, xxii. 1, 7). The interest would have ceased to run at once if the Salaminians had been permitted to deposit the money due in a temple. The rate of interest fixed in the edict is irrelevant. If the bracketed words were retained, we should interpret *consistere* differently, 'the rate of interest fixed in my edict ought to have been maintained;' that is, the interest should have been simple, now the Salaminians were ready to pay compound interest.

Ibid.

Ad me autem etiam cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀκοινονοήτως solet scribere.

The reading of the MSS, ἀκοινονοήτως, is with one consent changed to ἀκοινωνήτως. But ἀκοινονοήτως is a much more appropriate word here. The adjective means *com-*

muni sensu carens (Mayor on Juv., vii. 218), and is put into the mouth of Cicero himself by Aulus Gellius (xii. 12), who tells a characteristic anecdote about the orator. Here Cicero says that Brutus writes to him in an insolent, overbearing strain, which shows a lack of that *tact* and *knowledge of the world* on which Cicero especially prided himself. If ἀκοινωνήτως meant (as it ought to mean) ‘unsocially,’ it would not be a strong enough word here. If it could mean ‘uncivilly’ (which is doubtful), it would still involve either an anticlimax, or, at best, a mere repetition of the foregoing adverbs; and a Greek expression ought to convey a very pointed meaning.

ATT. vi. 1. 26.

Inventae sunt quinque imagunculae matronarum in quibus una sororis amici tui, hominis bruti qui hoc utatur, et *uxoris* illius lepidi qui haec tam neglegenter ferat.

In this well-known passage, where the play on words hides so prettily in the subjunctive mood, Wesenberg saw that *uxoris*, or some such word, must be supplied. A more likely word to have fallen out would be the Greek word ἀλόχου. It is true that, in the fourth and fifth letters of this book, the Greek terms for ‘wife’ are δάμαρ and ξυνάσπος; but in the latter passage, while C and M give συναδρου, other MSS give ἀλόχου.

ATT. vii. 3. 12.

Scis enim quos aperuerimus, qui omnes, praeter eum de quo per te egimus, rem me facere rerentur. Ipsi enim expensum nemo ferret.

So I would emend the *aperierimus* and *reum facere rentur* of M. *Se aperire* and *aperiri* are commonly used, especially in the Latin, of familiar intercourse in the sense of ‘to disclose one’s real character:’ e. g. Ter. *Andr.* iv.

1. 8. And if a man who shows himself in his true colours can be said *se aperire*, cannot one who so reveals or shows up another describe his act by the same verb? Cicero writes: 'you know what we have discovered to be the true character of the other suitors—adventurers, capable of taking it for granted (*qui—rerentur*) that I was amassing a fortune in my province [and so seeking the hand of Tullia, because they wanted to borrow money, and] because no one would lend them anything on their own security.' They wished to acquire credit by their connexion with Cicero.

Or, omitting *me*, the words *qui . . . rerentur* might mean nothing more than 'a set of fellows capable of looking on marriage with Tullia as a pecuniary speculation,' because they hoped to obtain credit through their connexion with Cicero.

For the run of the sentence, cp. *quos ego equites Romanos, quos senatores vidi qui . . . vituperarent!*—Att. vii. 5. 4.

Klotz's *qui . . . reum me facere viderentur* could, it seems to me, only mean 'men capable of seeming to be bringing me into the courts,' not 'men likely by their extravagance to involve me in processes for the recovery of debts due by them.'

The reading of Mommsen, accepted by Boot, Baiter, and others—*reum me facerent*—is very far from the MSS, and does not seem to be the kind of expression which Cicero would have used.

ATT. vii. 7. 1.

Illud †putato† non adscribis, et tibi gratias egit.

The word *putato* must be corrupt. I think it probable that the words corrupted into *putato* were *puta te me*. The *me* would have easily fallen out before *non*.

Cicero complains of the absence in the letter of Atticus

of the words : ‘and he (Dionysius) expresses his gratitude to you.’ It is easy for us to write : ‘one thing you do not add, “*and he expresses his gratitude to you.*”’ By the use of single and double inverted commas we can indicate who is the person addressed ; and we can make the sense still clearer by the use of italics, if necessary. But Cicero, we must remember, had no such typographical expedients. Therefore, when he wrote down the words *et tibi gratias egit*, he found it requisite to remind Atticus that the *tibi* referred, not to Atticus whom he was addressing, but to himself. This he might well express by the words, *puta te me*, ‘by the word *tibi*, in *et tibi gratias egit*, you are to understand that I am referred to.’ Let us remember how hard it would be to understand, without typographical help, such a verse (if met for the first time) as—

‘Making *I dare not* wait upon *I would.*’

R. Y. TYRRELL.

ON δὴ AFTER RELATIVES IN PLATO.

“Ος δὴ οἷος δὴ, &c., in Plato seem to have a distinctly marked significance which has not been seized by translators or lexicographers. Liddell and Scott and Kühner have been misled by the false etymology from ἤδη, and try to explain the uses of δὴ by the notion of time. Rost, in his excellent and very full discussion, is sometimes led astray by his false etymology from δῆλος; so that although his account of the force of the particle is sound, his suggested equivalents are not always so. Moreover, it is not correct to mix up Homer's use and that of Plato, for example. In Plato, δς δὴ almost always means ‘which is what,’ or the like.

For example: *Phaedo*, 80 C, τὸ μὲν ὁρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐν ὁρατῷ κείμενον ὃ δὴ νεκρὸν καλοῦμεν = ‘which is what we call νεκρὸν.’

81 D. περὶ τὰ μνήματα . . . κυλινδουμένη περὶ ἃ δὴ καὶ ὥφθη ἄττα ψυχῶν σκιοειδῆ φαντάσματα = ‘which are the very places.’ The rendering, ‘as they tell us’ (Jowett), does not give any emphasis to the relative, which is precisely what δὴ does.

82 A. οἱ τὴν δημοτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτετηδευκότες ἦν δὴ καλοῦσι σωφροσύνην = ‘which is the virtue they call.’

85 A. No bird sings when hungry or cold, or otherwise suffering, οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ἢ τε ἀηδῶν καὶ χελιδῶν καὶ ὁ ἔποψ ἃ δὴ φασὶ διὰ λύπην θρηνοῦντα ᾄδειν· ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ ταῦτά μοι φαίνεται λυπούμενα ᾄδειν = ‘which are the birds that are said,’ &c.

Such renderings as ‘as you know,’ and the like, miss the emphasis given to the relative.

Rep. 554 A. θαυματοποιὸς ἀνὴρ· οὗς δὴ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ τὸ πλῆθος.

Rep. 328 E. ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἡλικίας δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδὲ φασιν εἶναι οἱ ποιηταί.

Rep. 467 B. κίνδυνος δὲ οὐ σμικρὸς σφαλεῖσιν οἷα δὴ ἐν πολέμῳ φιλεῖ.

Symp. 210 E. κατόψεται τι θαυμαστὸν τὴν φύσιν καλόν, τοῦτο ἐκείνουν οὐ δὴ ἕνεκα καὶ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν πάντες πόνοι ἦσαν = 'the very thing for the sake of which.'

Rep. 408 C. The poets φασιν Ἀσκληπιὸν ὑπὸ χρυσοῦ πεισθῆναι πλούσιον ἄνδρα θανάσιμον ἤδη ὄντα λάσασθαι, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτόν = 'and that for this very reason.'

Rep. 406 A. ἃ δὴ δοκεῖ φλεγματώδη εἶναι. See the context. Compare also *Rep.* 413 E, 420 A; *Sympos.* 193 C; *Legg.* 644 E, 778 A, 780 E; *Menex.* 243 B.

A good instance of οἷος δὴ, where any such sense as 'as is known' is excluded, is *Apol.* 30 E, ὑπὸ μύωπός τινος, οἷον δὴ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐμὲ τῇ πόλει προστεθεικέναι ('I am that gadfly,' Jowett). Compare 31 B, ὅτι μοι θεῖόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον γίγνεται δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐπικωμωδῶν Μέλητος ἐγράψατο = 'which is just what' ('and is the divinity which,' &c., Jowett).

The usage is not limited to Plato, and the following is an instance from Herodotus, in which the rendering 'bekanntlich,' suggested by Rost, is quite unsuitable. Having related the device which Thrasybulus adopted, in the hope that it would lead the herald to make a certain report to Alyattes, he says, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο (I. 22). Here the context shows that it cannot mean 'as is known,' for he proceeds to establish the truth of the remark. It is 'which is just what happened.'

T. K. ABBOTT.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FRAGMENTS OF THE
LATIN SCENIC POETS.

RIBBECK'S edition of these Fragments is a book too well known and valued to need commendation from anyone. The following remarks are founded on his second editions of 1871 and 1873. Some of the emendations proposed have probably, without my knowledge, been anticipated during the interval which has since elapsed.¹

1. NAEVIUS. vs. 7 (vol. i., p. 7).

. . . amnis níveo fonte lávere me meminí manum.

The MSS. of Nonius, whence the verse is derived, give *animi iubeo*. One might suggest—

ámnis iuge fónte lavere mé *meam* memini manum.

2. NAEVIUS, vs. 18 (i., p. 9).

Né mihi gerere mórem videar língua, verum língua.

The MSS. of Gellius, with one exception, which gives *mortem*, have *morem*. It is difficult to see what *morem gerere* can mean in this context; and the true reading may be *Martem gerere*. *Lingula* means 'a broadsword.'

¹ Lucian Müller, in his edition of Nonius, of which the second part is just out, has, I find, anticipated several emendations which I was about to publish. These I have omitted.

3. NAEVIUS, vs. 22 (i., p. 9).

Líberi [sunt]: quáque incedunt ómnis arvas ópterunt.

The MSS. of Nonius have neither *liberi* nor *sunt*. They cite the words *quaque—ópterunt* from Naevius, ‘Lycurgo, lib. ii.’ The curious corruption *lib. ii.* is supposed to have come from *Líberi*. I rather suppose it to have come from *ii*, which was mistaken for a numeral, and expanded into *lib. ii.* The line may have been an iambic trimeter, thus—

li, quáque incedunt, ómnis arvas ópterunt.

Lib. means nothing. It is merely an expansion of *ii* into *Lib. ii.* There is later on a precisely similar case, where the letter *x* has been expanded by the copyist into *Lib. x.*, where editors and critics have gone hopelessly astray by supposing there, as here, that *Lib.* was to be taken as a corruption of *liberi* or some such word. It is—

4. ACCIUS, vs. 327 (i., p. 178).

Eos mortalis fœnis lib. x. miseror saepe studitos volo.

This apparently unmeaning jumble is given in the MSS. of Nonius, p. 500, among examples of ‘accusativus pro genetivo.’ Ribbeck, misled by *Lib.*, has tortured the words into this shape—

Deorúm mortalis [ésse] Fœnix, líberos

Remíniscor saepe et [mémínisse] idem istud vós volo.

And Buecheler, who thinks *alibi* is contained in *Lib.*, is not a whit better. Now mark how plain a tale will set the whole matter right. Recognizing the fact that *Lib. x.* is simply a development of *x* at the end of *Fœnix* (or *Phoenix*), we gain, with perfect facility, one of the simplest trochaics ever written, with the most trivial alteration—

Eós mortalis, Foénix, miseror saépe, et adiutós volo,

giving a sufficient illustration of Nonius's subject in the construction of *miseror* with an accusative: *et adiutos* for *studitos* is a trivial change which gives the exact sense demanded; and this very volume supplies a parallel to the construction; Pacuvius, vs. 206 (p. 102): *Di me etsi perdunt tamen esse adiutam expetunt*.²

5. NAEVIUS, vs. 61 (i., p. 14).

. . . trionum hic [ést] moderator rústicus.

Est is not in the MSS. of Isidore, who quotes the words, saying, '*hunc (sc. bovem) Latini trionem vocant.*' Varro, too, says that even in his time the rustics called the ox *trio*, 'maxime cum terram arant.' I do not believe that *trio* was ever the name of *an ox* in Latin, although, no doubt, it was the name for *three oxen* yoked abreast when ploughing, 'a team,' 'a triad.' As to *septentrio*, I believe it to be simply 'the septet,' the seven stars in the Great Bear, formed incorrectly on the analogy of *trio*, *quatrio*, which existed alongside of *ternio* and *quaternio*. Isidore tells us *trio* and *quatrio* were the names for three and four on a die. As to the passage before us, it will not scan with *trionum*; and I suspect that *tironum* was written by Naevius, which suits *moderator* very well.

6. ENNIUS, vs. 22 (i., p. 18).

Álter terribilém minatur vítae cruciatum ét metum !

These words are spoken by Alcmaeon, who was driven mad by the Furies after slaying his mother. Ribbeck reads *Mater* for *alter*; rather read *ultor*, 'the avenger,'

² I see that L. Müller has arrived at constricts:—
adiutos. He goes very far wrong in the rest of the passage, which he thus

. . . eos mortális, Phoenix, líbero
Misércor saepe stúdio et adiutós volo.

ὁ προστρόπαιος, ἀλάστωρ, probably Apollo, who threatens the unhappy man with all manner of torment.

7. ENNIUS, vs. 101 (i., p. 28).

Córpus contemplátur, unde córporaret vúlnerē,

Nonius, p. 20: '*corporare* est interficere et quasi corpus sine anima relinquere;' and he quotes this passage, and from Accius the words, *Corporare abs tergo es ausus*, 'to kill from behind' (Acc., vs. 605, i., p. 214). I am more than half inclined to read *cor foraret* in the one case, and *cor forare* in the other.

8. ENNIUS, vs. 139 (i., p. 33).

Hectór vi summa armátos educít foras
Castrisque castra iam últro conferre óccupat.

So Ribbeck. The MSS. of Nonius give *ultro iam ferre*. *Castra* is here a mistake for *contra*.

Castrisque *contra vim* iam ultro inferre óccupat.

9. ENNIUS, vs. 158 (i., p. 36).

per vós et vostrorúm [ducum]
Ímperium et fidém, Myrmidonum vígiles, commisérescite.

Ducum is not in the MSS. of Nonius, p. 472, but is added by L. Mueller. The true reading is probably *omnium*. *Vostrorum* is the genitive of the personal, not the possessive pronoun. Cf. *Amph. Prol.* 4: *Et ut res rationesque vostrorum omnium Bene expedire vultis*, where *vostrorum* is used, as here, in an adjuration, and occupies the same place in the verse.

10. ENNIUS, vs. 255 (i., p. 52).

Pecudi dare viva marito.

It is difficult to see what *dare viva* can mean. It is easy to see what would be the meaning of *dare verba*: 'to deceive a sheep of a husband'; and it is quite possible that *úba*, *úua* passed into *uiua*.

11. ENNIUS, vs. 375 (i., p. 70).

Cúr quod in me est éxsecrabor hóc quod lucet quícquid est ?

Why, indeed? Rather an absurd question. Nobody asked him to curse all creation, sun, moon, and sky, with all his might. The MSS. of Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* 25, 65, give both *cur* and *cui*. Nothing is to be got out of *cui*, but I think *cur* represents *cor*. 'With all my heart, with all the brain that is in me, will I curse the light of day'! So speaks some Thyestes, or Alcmaeon, or Oedipus, whose burden is greater than he can bear.

12. ATILIUS, vs. 4 (ii., p. 33).

Cape, caéde, lide, cóme, conde.

Read *dide* for *lide*, not *Lyde*: cf. Caec., vs. 239 (ii., p. 74), *dide ac dissice*.

13. PACUVIUS, vs. 6, *sqq.* (i., p. 77).

Ita saéptuosa díctione abs té datur
Quod cóniectura sápiens aegre cóntuit.

So Ribbeck. The MSS. of Nonius, p. 170, give *dictio* and *contulit*. I would keep *dictio*, but give *dicitur* for *datur*; and *conicit* may be read for *contulit*: 'can

divine.' The double assonance of *dictio dicitur: coniectura conicit*, was intentional: one was meant to answer the other.

14. PACUVIUS, vs. 73 (i., p. 85).

Cóncertare ac díssentire pártē da cursum aéquiter.

So the MSS. of Nonius, p. 512. Ribbeck changes three words, and puts in one new one, and makes a line which it is to be hoped he understands—

Cóncentare ac díssentire párti ac da rursum aéquiter.

I will only change *partē* to *parce*—

Cóncertare ac díssentire párce: da cursum aéquiter.

Someone is advised how to behave in an interview with someone else in a passion, and the very natural advice is given: 'avoid arguing with him and contradicting him: let his anger have free course to vent itself.'

15. PACUVIUS, vs. 208, *sq.* (i., p. 102).

Fac, út coepisti hanc óperam mihi des pérpetem: ^
Oculis traxerim.

These words are rightly supposed to be the words of Hecuba, asking for vengeance on Polymestor. Ribbeck writes: *Oculós transaxim*. I should prefer keeping *traxerim* and *oculís* both—

Oculís elisis tráxerim . . .

'Let me gouge out his eyes, and tear . . .'

16. PACUVIUS, vs. 226 (i., p. 105).

Si résto, porgit út eam : si ire cónor prohibet baétere.

So Ribbeck, with Mercer. Nonius gives *pergitur* for *porgit ut*; and this clearly points to *percit ut*: 'if I stay still, he (she or it) keeps spurring me on to move.'

17. PACUVIUS, vs. 205 (i., p. 113).

Regum ímperator, aeternum morum sator.

So, with one exception, the MSS. of Nonius, p. 495, who quotes the words to exemplify 'accusativus numeri singulari positus pro genetivo plurali.' *Aeternum* is a sufficient example. It is miraculous that the line has escaped emendation. Read—

Regum ímperator, aeternum animorúm sator.

'Creator of immortal souls' is the simple sense; and the correction is founded on the firmest critical basis. (*Aeternum sator*, Ribbeck; *aeterne, humanum sator*, L. Mueller.)

18. PACUVIUS, vs. 321 (i., p. 117).

Profusus gemitu murmuro occistians rua.

So the MSS. of Paulus and Festus between them. The words are from the 'Teucer' of Pacuvius; Telamon's grief on hearing of the death of Ajax is evidently here described. *Occisti*—i. e. *occidisti*—has been got out of *occistians* by Ribbeck, who ends the line with *antruat*, but does not tell us by what authority he makes *antruat* mean 'says.' It is possible that Pacuvius entertained the same false notions of tmesis as his uncle and contemporary, Ennius, and his junior, Lucilius. I suppose him to have written—

Profúsus gemitu, múrmur 'occisti'-ans ruit—

i. e. *murmurans* 'occisti' *ruit*: 'murmuring "you have killed me," he fainted away.' This tmesis is not one whit more violent than *cere comminuit-brum* of Ennius, or '*Villa Lucani mox potieris-aca*,' or something resembling it of Lucilius. I only change *it* into *a*, and leave out *o* before *o*.

19. PACUVIUS, vs. 333, sq. (i., p. 119).

Rápide retro citróque percito aéstu praecipitém ratem
Réciprocare, undaéque (e)gremiis súbiectare adfligere..

The MSS. of Festus and Paulus give *unde eque gremiis subiectare* (*sublectare*, Paulus) *adfigere* (*ac figere*, Paulus). Hermann, followed by Ribbeck, inserts *e* before *gremiis*. It is difficult to see what *e* means. *Undae gremiis* might possibly be understood to mean the bosom of the wave, were there not three objections to it: first, that *gremiis* and *undae* should be in the same number; second, that the plural *gremia* is rarely used; third, that the metaphor *gremium undae* is a false metaphor, and at any rate is a modern metaphor, quite unlike anything in Latin. *e gremiis* is a simple fracture of *aegre remis*. *Subiectare* may be changed either to *subiectari* or *subvectari*: in the latter case, *adfligere* must be altered to *adfligier*. Taking the former view, I write the lines thus:—

Rápide retro citróque percito aéstu praecipitém ratem
Réciprocare undae, aégre remis súbiectari, adfligere.

The subject to *reciprocare* is *undae*, not *venti*, as Ribbeck says. Winds do not move vessels backwards and forwards: breakers do. These breakers were with difficulty kept under by the oars, and kept dashing the vessel against the shore.

20. ACCIUS, vs. 22 (i., p. 136).

. . . Heu!

Cuiátis stirpem fúnditus flígí studet.

This passage is from the Aegisthus of Accius. I cannot see what *cuiátis* means here. If it is allowable to suppose that Accius would have used *tis* for *tui*, we may gain a complete trimeter by writing

Heu! quia tis stirpem funditus fligi studet.

'Alas! it is because he wishes thy progeny to be extirpated.' *Quia tis* is read in *Miles*, 4. 2. 42.

21. ACCIUS, vs. 49 (i., p. 142).

Locrórum late víridia et frugum úbera.

The MSS. of Nonius give *locronum* for *Locrorum*, which is Ribbeck's own. But the plot of the Erigona, whence the citation is made, lay in Lacedaemon, so *Locrorum* cannot be right. I propose to write

Loca rórum lacte víridia, et frugum úbera:

'Places green with the nurture of dew and teeming with corn.' Cf. Cicero, *de Cons. Suo*. [*Div.* 1. 12], 'Uberibus gravidis vitali rore rigabat;' The metaphor by which Accius calls 'dew' 'milk' is no stronger than the metaphor by which Cicero calls 'milk' 'dew.' The first clause of the verse is now brought into harmony with the second. Virgil's *ubere glebae* resembles *ubera frugum*.

22. ACCIUS, vs. 64 (i., p. 144).

Qui ducat cúm te socerum víderit

Géneribus tantam ésse inpietatem? . . .

'*Generibus pro generis*,' Nonius, p. 487, quoting this passage. It would take at least one more passage to

establish this dictum of Nonius, when the emendation of this one is so easy: *generi bis tantam esse impietatem*. The sentiment of the verse probably was: 'everyone who sees how well you behave as a father-in-law will think your son-in-law's conduct doubly bad.' The first line may have contained the words: '*Nemo est quin ducat*.'

23. AFRANIUS, vs. 110 (ii., p. 179).

Itaque ádeo extundo exfcio: datúr mihi
Custodiendus.

So Ribbeck, making a strange *exfcio*, i. e. *exfaecio*, comparing Gloss. Cyr., '*efficio* εκβιβάζω.' The MSS. of Nonius, p. 102, give *ex officio* or *exfcio*. Müller reads: *efficio mandatur mihi*. The true reading appears to me to be

Itaque ádeo tundendo éfficio detúr mihi
Custódiendus.

Efficio is often used without *ut*, as Ov. *Rem. Am.* 31; *Fast.* 6. 379. For the phrase *tundendo efficare*, cf. Ter. *Hec.* 1. 2. 48. The diiambic ending *datur mihi* cannot stand, and is abandoned by Ribbeck in his 'Corollarium.'

24. ACCIUS, vs. 449 (i., p. 194).

. . . timida eliminor,
[É] clamore símul ac nota vóx ad auris áccidit:

So Ribbeck: and so the MSS. of Nonius generally, save that they omit *E*, which Ribbeck inserts. I do not understand his line. I propose—

Clámor ore símul, ac nota vóx ad auris áccidit:

'I am turned out of doors affrighted; at the same moment I am called on in words, and a familiar voice falls on my ears.' *Clamor* is present passive. I merely insert the syllable *or* after the syllable *or*.

25. ACCIUS, vs. 694 (i., p. 225).

Cítius Orión pallescit.

So Buecheler. The MSS. of Varro give *patescit* and *patefit*. This points to *tabescit* or rather *tabescet*: 'sooner shall Orion's light grow dim'!

26. SANTRA, vs. 3 (i., p. 228).

. . . ex templo éxcita evadít pia
Genetríx et omnis vócis expergít sono.

For *pia* the MSS. give *qua*, which leads to *vaga*: 'My mother leaves the temple distraught' (φοιράς: cf. *vagus animi* in the Atys, and see *infra*).

27. VARIUS, vss. 3-7 (i., p. 229).

. . . primum huic
Nervis septem est intenta fides
Variique apti vocum moduli
Ad quós mundi resonát canor in
Vestígia se sua vólventis.

So Ribbeck, who, however, marks a lacuna between *moduli* (*modi* MSS.) and *ad*, to avoid the violation of synaphea. There will be no violation of synaphea if we simply read *Quos ad*. The trajection of *ad* with the relative pronoun is not at all uncommon.

28. INCERT., vss. 18, 19 (i., p. 236).

Sáncte Apollo, qui umbilícum cértum terrarum óptines
Unde superstitiósá primum saéva evasit vóx foras . . .

So Ribbeck, and so the MSS. of Cicero, *de Div.* 2. 56. 115, with the difference—the very important difference—that they give *fera*, not *foras*, which is a conjecture of

Gruter. The words are those of the wild Cassandra. We should keep *fera*, but we should change *vox* to *nox*. *Nox fera* is the vocative case. *Evasit* should be *evasi*, *et*.

Sáncte Apollo qui úmbilicum cértum terrarum óptines
Unde superstitósa primum saéva evasi, et Nox fera !

‘Holy Apollo, tenant of the sure centre of earth, from whose presence I first went forth a fell prophetess, and thou, wild Night!’ Addresses to Night are, it is needless to say, common in Greek tragedy.

29. INCERT., vs. 158 (i., p. 258).

Praetér rogítatum si pie.

So the MSS. of Cicero, *Rab. Post.* 11. 29: given by Cicero as an example of ‘*regum imperia*,’ along with *animum advorte et dicto pare*. Ribbeck writes, *si hisces*: ‘if you say a word beside what I ask’: but Cicero has not yet come to the *minae* of kings; he speaks of them in the next paragraph (*et illae minae*). I think we should read *supple* for *si pie*: ‘besides what I asked, supply,’ a stilted mode of putting a question, quite grandiloquent enough for the context.

30. ACCIUS, vs. 10 (i., p. 282).

. . . Caleti vocé canora
Fremitú peragrant minitábiliter.

Caleti seems to be taken as a proper name. But *voce canora*, *fremitu*, and *minitabiliter* seem to show that hounds are spoken of: therefore we should read *catuli*. The suggestion that *calles* preceded may well be adopted—

Callés catuli vocé canora
Fremitú peragrant minitábiliter

31. NAEVIUS, vs. 108 (ii., p. 25).

Etiám qui res magnás manu saepe géssit glorióse
 Cuius fácta viva núnc vigent, qui apud géntes solus praestat
 Eum suús pater cum palliod unód ab amíca abduxit.

This is the famous allusion to the great Scipio. The metre is Iambic septenarian, and it is incredible that *saepe gessit* can have stood where it does. It may be safely alleged that a parallel to such a scansion cannot be produced. *Saepe* may possibly be a corruption of *pos* (*post*); or *gessit* may have been given instead of *egit*. *Ago*, as well as *gero*, is used in such phrases: cf. Incert. 29 (p. 119), *quantam rem egeris*.

32. NAEVIUS, vs. 121 (ii., p. 28).

. . . Petimine piscino qui meruerat.

It would not be interesting to dwell at length on this fragment. It is only necessary to point out that *piscino*, which Ribbeck marks as corrupt, should be *pistrino*, 'a mill.' Festus tells us that *petimen* meant an ulcer on a beast's shoulder; that it also meant that part of a hog's breast which is between the shoulders. He apparently quotes this passage to illustrate the latter sense. It seems, however, as if he had put a quotation illustrating the *former* sense into the wrong place. If we read—

Petimine, *in* pistrino equi qui meruerant,

we shall have a line which meets the former sense. In the *pistrinum* a horse was sure to be galled: cf. *Asin.* 3. 3. 119:—

Post ted ad pistores dabo, ut ibi cruciere currens.

But even if we suppose the reference to be to swine,

pistrino is equally suitable (though it is difficult to reconstruct the whole verse), for swine were fed at mills on bran.

Capt. 4. 2. 25, *sqq.*:—

Tum pistorum scrophipasci qui alunt furfuribus sues
Quorum odore praeterire nemo pistrinum potest.

33. CAECILIUS, vs. 278 (ii., p. 79).

Namque [mihi] malum in mundost, ere.

The MSS. of Charisius give *in mundo si ire*. *Ere* is a conjecture of Buecheler's. *Mihi* is inserted by Ribbeck. It seems more likely that *si ire* is a corruption of *Syre*. A slave's name is likely to be mentioned in connexion with the mention of coming punishment. *Syra* is used by Caecilius of a female slave, vs. 221. Perhaps,

Namque ést malum in mundó, Syre.

34. TURPILIUS, vs. 90 (ii., p. 96).

Propter peccatum pausillum indignissime
Patria protelatum esse saevitia patris.

In the *Trinummus* of Plautus, 3. 2. 77, we have—

Méa opera hinc protérritum te méaque avaritia aútumabunt.

Proterritum, 'frightened,' is quite out of place here. Is it not likely that *protelatum*, 'goaded into exile,' is the true reading? The word is Terentian also.

35. AFRANIUS, vs. 69 (ii., p. 174).

[Clam] nóbis dictis, quaéso, ne ille indaúdiat.

The MSS. of Nonius give *novis dictis*, omitting *clam*. Now *digitis* is often corrupted into *dictis*; and it is, perhaps, allowable to suggest that the true reading is—

Nobís *dic* digitis quaéso, ne ille indaúdiat.

In the well-known fragment of the Tarentilla of Naevius, where a coquette is described (ii., p. 20), *alii suo dat digito litteras* does not mean she actually handed a note to another, but that she spoke on her fingers, or made signs with her fingers, to another. *Dic* might easily fall out before *digitis*, and would help the corruption into *dictis*.

36. AFRANIUS, vs. 155 (ii., p. 284).

Atque ádeo volo núdo petiolo fespús,

For *espús* read *aspici*. A girl says she does not want to be seen with her feet bare.

37. AFRANIUS, vs. 159 (ii., p. 184).

Dat rústico nescio cui, vicinó suo
Perpaúperi, cui dúcat dotis paúlulum.

For the latter line read—

Perpaúperi, qui dúcat : dotis paúlulum.

38. AFRANIUS, vs. 236 (ii., p. 194).

Tenéto : in medio némo est, magnificé volo
Fluctuátim ire ad illum, accípite hoc, tege tu et sústine.

It is not likely that *Teneto* is right (*tene tu*, MSS.). It is most unlikely that *fluctuatim* could have been pronounced as of three syllables. *Tege* has no meaning. First, then, as to *tene tu* : the ictus *tenē tu* is given up by all, save L. Mueller. It seems to me the situation is this : a lady dressed out in a train is sitting among her maidens, when she sees her lover through the open door. She determines, as there is no one in the street, to see him, to go out to meet him, in her grand array. We may suppose she gives up her spinning-wheel to one of her maidens, saying, *Tene : ne tu*, 'take it : spin you.' To two other girls she says,

Accipite hoc, i. e., 'take up my train' (*hoc*: sc. *syrma*): to one she says, *terge tu* (wipe the dust off it), 'and hold it up.' This may be fanciful, but the changes involved are practically *nil*.

Téne : ne tu, in medio nemo est : magnificé volo
Et fluctuatim ire ad illum : accipite hoc : téрге tu,
Et sústine.

It might also be suggested that *terge tu et sustine* refers to a mirror : this would demand further changes.

39. POMPONIUS, vs. 114 (ii., p. 242).

Asside, si qua ventura est aliqua strena strenue.

Nonius, p. 17, 1 : 'strena dicta est a strenuitate.' The MSS. give as above, save that they give *alia* for *aliqua*, and *strenae* for *strenue*. I can make nothing whatever of either *asside* or *strenue*. If we turn our attention to *strena* we shall remember that *strena* meant, in the first place, a small sum of money that was given to bring a good omen on the recipient—what we should call a 'luck-penny;' and I think we are justified in considering that an omen to the giver was intended in certain cases. Festus says : 'strenam vocamus quae datur die religioso, ominis boni causa.' Hence *asside*, as *s* follows, may well have been a corruption of *assem des*. Next as to *strenue* : we know that an omen was supposed to follow sneezing. The lines of Propertius and Catullus are too well known to quote. Therefore for *strenue* I would substitute *sternue*. The line will run, *alia* being kept—

Assem des : si qua ventura est alia strena, sternue :

'Give a penny for good luck : if there is a chance of a good omen coming any other way, sneeze.' The changes here are impalpable.

40. NOVIUS, vs. 22 (ii., p. 258).

. . . in molis

Nón ludunt pilá datatim, raptim morso [saéviunt].

Ribbeck has not been at all successful with this fragment. The MSS. (Nonius) give, *in molis non ludunt raptim pila datatim morso*. The true reading, or nearly so, may be—

Raptim non ludunt in molis pilá, datatim dórso,

‘They do not play at catch, but at leapfrog.’

41. LABERIUS, vs. 19 (ii., p. 282).

. . . égo mirabar quó modo mammáe meae
Déscendiderant.

So Ribbeck, leaving a gap. The first line, however, was a complete trimeter, for *ergo* is to be read for *ego*, as is shown by *Asinaria*, 2. 2. 49:—

Ergo mirabar quod dudum scapulae gestibant mihi.

‘Ergo mirabar’ was a colloquial expression, denoting past wonder now cleared away by having its cause discovered: ‘Well, I *did* wonder.’

42. LABERIUS, vs. 131 (ii., p. 298).

Aútumno, ubi Caurus pópulis decidua folia pándit.

So Ribbeck. The MSS. give *in altum non* for *autumno*. (*In*) *autumno* is the certain correction of Bothe. *Caput* is given in the MSS. for *Caurus*, which is Ribbeck’s correction, and worthy of acceptance, although *Japyx* is as near *caput*, and might have been used by an elder contemporary of Virgil. For *populis* the MSS. gives *foliis*. *Populis* cannot be right, for it does not suit *pándit*. I propose to read

solibus : 'spreads out the fallen leaves to the sun.' The line will run—

Autúmno ubi Iapyx sólibus decídua folia pándit.

Pandere ad solem, in sole are common enough.

43. SYRUS, vs. 177 (ii., p. 324).

Futúra pugnant néc se superari sinunt.

There might be suggested—

Fatúi repugnant, néc se superarí sinunt.

44. SYRUS, vs. 191 (ii., p. 326).

Facit gratum Fortúna, quom nemó videt.

Ribbeck reads *ratum*: *oratum* would perhaps be preferable.

45. SYRUS, vs. 503 (ii., p. 350).

Qui metuit calamitatem raro accipit.

If *rarus* be used it will make a sound trimeter: cf. Juvenal's *rarus venit in cenacula miles*.

A. PALMER.

PLAUTINA.

1. PLAUTUS, *Asinaria*, Prol. 15.

Ridícula res est : dáte benigne operám mihi.
 Ut vós item alias, páriter nunc Mars ádiuvet.

For the last line read—

Ita vós, ut alias, páriter nunc Mars ádiuvet.

Ita stating the terms on which a blessing is pronounced, as usual.

2. *Asinaria*, 1. 2. 151.

Átque eccam inlecebra éxit tandem : opínor, hic ante óstium
 Meo modo loquar quae volam, quoniam intus non licitumst mihi.

How are we to scan the second line? Are we to shorten the last syllable of *loquar*? I believe this to be impossible: to slur *volam* is possible, but objectionable. This, combined with the bad diaeresis, makes me regard the verse as spurious. Some hand has been busy tacking on lines at the end of several scenes in this play. After excising the spurious verse, we shall make a fitting end to the scene by writing simply—

Opperiar hic ante ostium.

Cf. *Most.* 3. 2. 108: *ante ostium eccum opperitur.*

3. *Asinaria*, ii. 4. 29.

Vah ! delenire apparas : scio mihi vicarium esse
 Neque eo ésse servom in aédibus eri quí sit pluris quam fílest.

Eo is out of all construction; *ille* and *eo* refer to the same person: how could they? and the scansion of *eri qui*

is very harsh. Syntax and metre may be both set right by the simple expedient of transferring the letter *r* from *eri* to *eo*—

Nequē ero ēsse servom in aédibus ei quī sit pluris quam illeſt.

‘And that my master has not a slave in his house who is of more value in his eyes than he is.’

4. *Asinaria*, v. 2. 91.

A. Í domum. P. Da sávium etiam prius quam abis. D. I ín crucem.

P. Immo intus potiús.

Intus has grown out of the retort *in tu* (*isne tu*); and so *in in crucem* should be read in the first line (*isne in crucem*). Cf. *Merc.* 1. 2. 72: *In hinc dierectus*.

5. *Stichus*, 5. 2. 21, 22.

Nolo helluemus hodie : peregrina omnia

Relinque : Athenas nunc colamus : sequare me.

The Attic banquets were considered meagre. Lynceus, *Ap. Athen.* 4. 131 f; (Kock, vol. 3, p. 274).

οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν ἦδεται τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
δείπνοις.

ὄψιν μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα ποικίλην,
ἀλλ’ οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα.
κατέπασα γὰρ τὸ χεῖλος, οὐκ ἐνέπλησα δέ.

This seems to me no small confirmation of the emendation given above, proposed by me, *HERM.*, No. 13, p. 236, for the reading of the MSS. *eluumus*.

6. *Trinummus*, 3. 3. 3.

Namque hércle honeste fieri ferme nón potest

Ut eám perpetiar íre in matrimónium

Sine dóte, quum eius rém penes me habeám doñi.

Ferme is quite wrong. *Ferme* is used in Plautus in these collocations: *Ferme biennium*: *nemo ferme*: *haud ferme solet*: *ferme ut quisque rem adcurat suam sic ei procedunt post principia*: *aetas acta est ferme*: for *ferme familiariter*, *Trin.* 2. 2: 54 *ferme et familiariter* is read from A, which has *ferme et*. None of these support the extraordinary use of *ferme* above: it is probable that the true reading is *per me*. 'It cannot be done honourably if I can prevent it.'

7. *Trin.* 2. 4. 196 sqq.

Effugiet ex urbe, ubi erunt factae nuptiae:
Ibit istac aliquo in maxumam malam crucem
Latrocinatum, aut in Asiam aut in Ciliciam.

No remedy for the deep corruption in *istac* has been found. *Statim*, the conjecture of Brix, will not do; it is not near the MSS., and *statim* is not used by Plautus in the sense of 'immediately.' I think we have here an exemplification of what Davies calls 'Anagrammatismus,' a cause which Mr. Housman has been impressing in several of his papers. I propose to read *stlata*. Regarding *t* as the same as *c*, which it is practically in cursives, *i* as the same as *l*, and allowing that the final *a* has been absorbed by the *a* of *aliquo*, we have *stlata* before us, conceding a very slight anagrammatismus:—'He will be off in a transport ship, filibustering into Asia or Cilicia.' There is abundant testimony that *stlata* meant a ship of some sort: some say a piratical craft; some say a foreign vessel. It translates it 'transport,' connecting it with *lat-* (*fero*). But if it means any sort of ship it will suit the passage well enough.

A. PALMER.

March 30, 1889.

NOTES, CHIEFLY CRITICAL, ON THE TWO LAST BOOKS OF THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.

HAVING during many years repeatedly read over the Clementine Homilies, and from time to time noted passages which I thought might be better emended than I found in the editions of Schwegler and Dressel, or in Wieseler's notes appended to Dressel's edition of the two Epitomes, I have recently gathered up all these notes in consecutive order. In offering a portion of them now to HERMATHENA, I have selected those on the two last books of the Homilies. The entire of the twentieth and a large part of the nineteenth are only known to us by one MS., the Ottobonian, discovered and printed by Dressel, and are more corrupt in their text than the rest. It would have been well if his critical judgment and competence as an editor and translator had been equal to his diligence and zeal in giving to the learned the text of the above-named MS., and the completion, to all appearance, of the Greek text of the Clementine Homilies. For though even now the termination is rather abrupt, and leaves the narrative incomplete, yet the scribe having put 'amen' at the end of his copy, as it now exists, it is to be presumed that he found no more to transcribe. I have compared all with the text of Lagarde, who employed someone to collate for him the Ottobonian MS. He has not generally dealt with textual difficulties, rarely himself emending but sometimes adopting the suggestions of others. In the lacunae he gives a dot for each letter supposed to be missing.

HOMILY XIX. 1.

This book of the Clementine Homilies contains the fourth day's discussion between Peter and Simon at Laodicea. Peter goes out early, and finds Simon waiting for him. He salutes the people with a benediction, but Simon cuts him short, bids him stop his preambles, and tells him to come to the subject before them : ἐπειδὴ συννοῶ σε, ὡς ἀφ' ὧν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐπακηκοὼς ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι μηθὲν ἕτερόν σοι πρόκειται, ἢ πάση μηχανῇ τὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν δεῖξαι μόνον ἄμεμπτον εἶναι θεὸν καὶ τοσοῦτον προαιρέσεως πόθον ἔχοντα δισχυρίζεσθαι, ὡς καὶ ἐνίας τῶν γραφῶν περικοπὰς σαφῶς καταλεγούσας αὐτοῦ τολμᾷν ψευδεῖς λέγειν. These words are barely translatable. Wieseler almost despairs of emending them, but proposes to take συννοῶ σε down to between καὶ and τοσοῦτον, and to introduce εἰμι after ἐπακηκοὼς, besides some other alterations entirely transforming the whole passage. First of all, I wonder that instead of introducing εἰμι, he did not think of reading ἐπακήκοα instead of the participle, though the change is hardly needed. A lacuna of three letters may be filled with σου. If the καὶ before τοσοῦτον were omitted it would be an advantage, though it might remain in the sense of *even*. The genitive προαιρέσεως of the Ottob. MS. should be replaced by the προαίρεσιν which Cotelerius gives from his MS., which Lagarde follows. We must then suppose all that intervenes between συννοῶ σε and καὶ τοσοῦτον to be spoken parenthetically, and may translate as follows:—‘I consider that you—as from what I have heard from you from the beginning I know that nothing else is proposed by you but by every contrivance to show that the Demiurge himself alone is God without blame—have so great a desire to establish your purpose, as even to venture to allege that some passages of the Scriptures which clearly

‘speak against him are false.’ The writer seems to have intended to represent the embarrassed manner in which one sometimes begins a discussion. The mention of false passages of Scripture refers to what took place on the previous day, when Simon broke off in an affected rage, because Peter had said that our Lord had bid us be approved money-changers, *τραπεζίται δόκιμοι*, that we might be able to distinguish the genuine from the spurious coin in the books written for our trial.

HOMILY XIX. 2.

Simon now demands of Peter to acknowledge or deny the existence of the evil being, *ὁ πονηρός*. Peter says, ‘far be it from him to deny what his Teacher had said.’ And he quotes many sayings of our Lord implying the existence of the devil. Amongst these he tells that He had said *μὴ δότε πρόφασιν τῷ πονηρῷ*. Now no one can mistake the resemblance of this to Eph. iv. 27. Though the writer has never mentioned S. Paul’s name, and at times attacks the Apostle through the person of Simon, a careful study of this book will show many resemblances of thought, and even indirect references to S. Paul’s Epistles. It suited the writer’s purpose, as ignoring the Apostle, to ascribe this precept to our Lord. But it is going too far to assume with Cotelierius, followed by recent critics, its existence in an Ebionite Gospel, to account for this quotation.

Peter having admitted the existence of the evil being, Simon proceeds, in the next chapter, to ask, ‘How he was created, if he was created, and by whom, and why?’ Peter fears to tread on dangerous ground; Simon taunts him with wanting to escape, and takes on himself all the risk of impiety.

HOMILY XIX. 4.

In the discussion with Simon, of which this chapter gives an account, Peter having admitted the existence of the evil being, ὁ πονηρός, Simon says: Εἰ γενητός ἐστιν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποιηκότος γέγονε θεοῦ, ἢ ὡς ζῶον γεννηθεὶς ἢ οὐσιωδῶς προβληθεὶς, καὶ ἔξω τῇ κράσει συμβεβηκώς. When Peter repeats this almost exactly in chapter 9, we find ἡ instead of καὶ before ἔξω. One or other should be changed. I think the former; for this clause seems not to mark a different possibility, but to form a part of what was mentioned just before, 'or substantially projected and externally acquiring by mixture of the elements, in an accidental manner, his evil propensities.'

HOMILY XIX. 5.

Peter says, in reference to the supposition that the evil being was uncreated, that the Creator was not on that account to be blamed, as being superior to all, εἰ καὶ ἀνάρχῳ ἀρχῇ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι διὰ τὸ μὴ φύσεως ἔχειν οὐ δεδύνηται, ἢ δύνατος ὢν οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ αὐτόν, ἄδικον κρίνας ἀρχὴν μὴ εἰληφότι τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι καὶ κακῷ πεφυκότι συγγενῶναι, διὰ τό, κ. τ. λ. Wieseler makes objection to several things in this chapter which I think are well enough as they are. He objects to the ἀνάρχῳ ἀρχῇ above on account of the repetition, and the αὐτόν that follows. This is futile. But he would expunge everything picturesque in the style. More reasonable objection is made to the clause κακῷ πεφυκότι συγγενῶναι, which seems to want a negative. Cotelerius supplied it in his version. The negative in the previous clause from its position would scarcely be extended to this. But perhaps without supplying the negative we might make the clause to depend on κρίνας—'having decided that it

would be unjust, &c., and (having decided) to indulge a being by his nature bad, and unable, even if he would, to become anything else.'

HOMILY XIX. 8.

‘Τῶν δοκούντων τὸ εὐφημότερον ἐλώμεθα, ἐπεὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων λαμβάνεται τοῦτο βεβαίως, δ μὲν στι θεῷ τὸ εὐφημότερον δοῦναι πρέπει, ταύτη μᾶλλον, all suspicions being cleared away, and another adequate and less dangerous view being at hand.’

Wieseler would read for δ μὲν the τὸ μὲν of the Ottobon. MS., and would add νοεῖν. He is quite mistaken. There should be a comma after μὲν, and δ μὲν should be construed with ταύτη μᾶλλον, the verb substantive being understood, and the intervening words being parenthetical. ‘Of probabilities that is safely adopted which, because it is right to assign to God that which is more reverent, (is) more in this direction,’ namely, in the direction of reverence.

HOMILY XIX. 11.

Οὕτως περὶ θεοῦ, ἢ οὐ, δὴ τὰ ἀνθρώποις προσόντα λέγειν καὶ σιωπᾶν ἔστιν, ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώποις προσόντων καλῶν εὐλογόν ἔστιν ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ τὰ κρεϊττόνα; In this sentence, as Dressel prints it, the comma after οὐ must, of course, be removed, and, though not necessary, would be an advantage after λέγειν. ‘And so in regard to God, is it right not at all to speak of things belonging to men, and to be silent, or is it reasonable of the good things pertaining to men to ascribe to Him those that are better?’ Simon had objected to ascribing to God any human qualities, or using in regard to Him human examples. Peter shows that in that case we could not say anything at all about God, and concludes with the above inquiry. Instead of δὴ in the first line which the Par. MS. gives, the Ottob. has δεῖ,

which is preferable. Lagarde omits both, and removes the note of interrogation, not at all for the better.

HOMILY XIX. 15.

Simon asks, 'What if matter *ἄψυχος οὐσα* has a natural power to produce things evil and good?' Peter replies that, 'according to that doctrine it is neither good nor bad, because it does not act from choice, being lifeless and senseless.' He then adds, 'and here it is necessary to discern *πῶς ἄψυχος οὐσα ἔμψυχος προβάλλει*; and being senseless, it appears to create forms that show contrivance, both of animals and plants.' Wieseler would introduce *ὡς* before *ἔμψυχος*. But this leaves the verb still without an object, which the sequel would make us expect. I should prefer to read *ἔμψυχα* with Lagarde, viz. the animals and plants mentioned immediately after. The Ottob. MS. has *οὐσα* also after *ἔμψυχος*. To this Simon replies, 'What if God Himself quickened it; is He not then the cause of the evil it produces?' To this Peter rejoins, 'If God quickened it in accordance with His own will, then His spirit works it, *καὶ οὐκέτι τῷ θεῷ ἐχθρόν τι ἐστὶν ἢ ἰσοδύναμον ἢ ἀδύνατον*· *ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς θέλει γίγνεται*.' These words, as printed by Lagarde, are plainly impossible. Dressel puts the colon before *ἀδύνατον*, and translates 'aut fieri nequit, ut quodcumque per eum fiat, secundum ejus gignatur voluntatem,' for which the indicative *γίγνεται* seems unfit. Adopting Dressel's punctuation we might translate, 'Or it is impossible, because,' etc.

Peter shortly after says, 'If you ask, why then was human nature made in the beginning susceptible of death? I say it was on account of free will. For if we were immortal we could not be punished for voluntary transgression.' And he adds, *καὶ οὕτως διὰ τὸ ἀπαθὲς πλείον τι, κἂν τῇ προαιρέσει ἡμεν κακοί, ἢ καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἐξησθένει*. This

is mistranslated in the Latin. The *κἄν* is made hypothetical, and the sense spoiled. We should translate, 'So on account of freedom from suffering, both we would have been somewhat more evil by choice, and righteousness would have been weakened.' The particle *ἄν* would thus apply to both clauses, as also the *πλείόν τι*. The comma after *πλείόν τι* might be removed.

HOMILY XIX. 17.

At the beginning of this chapter Simon says of the evil being, *μήτι ἀεὶ ὦν καὶ οὕτως ἀναιρείται τὰ τῆς μοναρχίας, συναρχούσης καὶ ἐτέρας τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὕλην δυνάμεως*; This is rendered in Dressel's Latin, 'Si sempiternus non fuit,' etc., the very opposite of what was intended. Lehmann, *Die Clementinische Schriften*, p. 393, strangely renders the words, 'Vielleicht war Gott nicht ewig.' He is right in the 'vielleicht,' but wrong in the negative, and in making God instead of the devil the subject, as is quite clear from the whole connexion. Throughout all these discussions we find *μήτι* often prefixed in the sense not of a negative, but as denoting an interrogative and qualified affirmation. This is one of many alternative possibilities proposed for discussion. On this supposition Simon maintains that the divine monarchy would be destroyed, which was what he wanted to prove. The reply of Peter to this argument is that 'if they are different *ταῖς οὐσίαις*, in their substances or subsistences, they are different also in their powers, and the superior rules the inferior. But if they are of the same substance, *τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας*, then they are of equal power, and alike good or evil.' To remove this latter alternative he says, or rather Dressel makes him say, *ὅτι δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἰσοδύναμοι, οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας φαίνονται*. The words *οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας*, are introduced by Dressel 'e penu suo,' and are rightly rejected by Wieseler and Lagarde,

the meaning being simply, 'But that they are not of equal power, they are manifest.' And he then adds the reason for that assertion, that 'matter has been brought by the Demiurge into what form of order he wished.' The consequent that they would be of equal power being thus removed, the antecedent that they are of the same substance is left to fall away of itself.

Peter then goes on to say, as Dressel has printed, καὶ μήτι γε ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι αἰὲν ἦν οὐσία, οὕσα ὕλη ὡς θεοῦ ταμεῖον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἦν [ταμεῖον], ὅτε ἀκτῆμων ἦν ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ αἰὲν ἦν ἀρχῶν αὐτῆς. Here again Dressel translates μήτι as an absolute negative, instead of a dubious affirmative, making Peter say the opposite of what was intended. He then removes the οὐχ of the MS. from before οὕσα ὕλη, and he introduces the bracketted ταμεῖον in a space sufficient for πῶποτε, which I propose to read. Going back then to the MS., we have the true meaning: 'And perhaps it may be said, there always was substance (or subsistence) being not matter, as God's storehouse. For it cannot be said there ever was when God was without possession, but He always was sole originator of it,' viz. οὐσίας, substance or subsistence, here used not in the sense of what merely underlies qualities, but in a highly metaphysical sense. The sentence should then be continued without Dressel's full stop, διὸ καὶ αἰδῖος μο [νάρχης ὢν]. 'Wherefore also being eternal sole originator.' The MS. has only μο without an accent, and a lacuna of eight letters. Lagarde therefore reads μονάρχης, but this would not be sufficient, and I have added ὢν. The conclusion of Peter's words then follows: καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὑποθέσει καλῶς ἂν λέγοιτο ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ἀρχοντος, καὶ τοῦ [μόνου αἰδῖ]ου. Here I fill in this way a space of nine letters in the MS. We should either read ὄντως, which I think is best, as making least change, and more likely to happen in writing from dictation, or we should with Wieseler supply τοῦ before ὄντος. The

meaning would then be, 'And on this hypothesis, it (viz. οὐσία) may rightly be said to be really the property of Him who is both the originator and the sole eternal.' It is to be observed that in the ecclesiastical language of the time ἀρχή and its cognates were used in regard to God, not to denote government, but the first principle of existence.

Simon now starts a new hypothesis, 'What then? Did the evil being make himself, and is God in this way good, that, knowing he would be for evil, He did not destroy him at his coming into existence, when as being incomplete he might have been destroyed? For if he suddenly chanced into existence, ἐξαίφνης συμβέβηκε, and that perfect, for that reason also he would have warred against the Demiurge, as having suddenly come into existence of equal power with Him.' There is a repetition of καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τέλειος expunged by Wieseler and Lagarde. It is to be noted that we have here a double hypothesis: he either made himself—and in that case the process must have been gradual—or he came by chance suddenly into existence perfect. To these propositions Peter replies in the next chapter.

HOMILY XIX. 18.

Peter replies to the foregoing, 'You are talking impossibilities; for both coming into existence by degrees He could have destroyed him as an enemy at His pleasure, and foreknowing that he would not become good, οὐ συνεχώρει, εἰ μὴ πρὸς αὐτῷ χρησίμων γιγνόμενον ἠπίστατο. Here Dressel has rightly introduced the negative before συνεχώρει. But he renders κατ' ὀλίγον γινόμενον by 'paulo ante genitum,' an absurd mistake. He has not here the advantage of the former translation, incorrect as that often is. He mistranslates οὐ συνεχώρει by 'non sibi associasset,' and πρὸς

αὐτῷ χρήσιμον by 'sibi utilem.' This is not the meaning of πρὸς αὐτῷ. It means here, 'juxta seipsum,' an agent at hand useful for the punishment of the wicked. Lagarde makes it πρὸς τὸ αὐτῷ without remark. The words ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προαιρέσει, 'under his choice,' give great offence to Wieseler, who can make nothing of them, and would substitute ὑπάρχοντα, or ὑπαντῶντα. I see no need of this; the meaning, 'at his own pleasure,' is clear enough, and necessary to the argument. The first of Simon's propositions is thus disposed of.

To the second he replies, 'And he was not able to have come into existence perfect, suddenly of himself. For he that does not yet exist cannot, πλάττειν, mould himself.' This Lagarde erroneously connects with what precedes. Then Dressel prints Καὶ τέλειος οὔτε ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γενέσθαι τι οὐσίαν ἔχειν δύναται, καὶ γεννητὸν ὑπάρχοντα τῷ αἰὲ ἰσοδυναμεῖν οὐκ ὁρθῶς ἂν εἴποι τις. Of this Wieseler says that it is 'inepte editum,' but offers no emendation. First, I think τέλειος should be τελείως. The coming into existence perfect was disposed of immediately before; the coming into existence of himself at all is now the question. With a perhaps unconscious play on the preceding τέλειος, he now says τελείως, 'finally.' Lagarde omits it as underlined in the MS. Then for οὐσίαν we should read ἐξουσίαν. 'And finally nothing can have power to come into existence out of things not existing, nor can one rightly say that being generated he can have equal power with Him that always exists.' Here γεννητόν stands in opposition to coming into existence of himself, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων.

Simon now starts a new hypothesis, μήτι οὖν τῶν πρὸς τί ἐστιν. Here Dressel rightly translates the μήτι. But he mistakes the meaning, 'annon forte illorum est quæ ad finem aliquem creabantur.' Lehmann follows him in this nonsense. The logical class of relations is what is

evidently intended. For he adds, as printed by Dressel, καὶ οὕτως πόνηρόν οὐκ ἔστι κακὸν μένον ὡς ὕδωρ πυρὶ, ἀγαθὸν δὲ τῇ εὐκαίρως διψώσῃ γῇ. Dressel has here inserted οὐκ before ἔστι without authority, and it should be expunged. Lagarde puts a mark of question after ἔστι, and then reads μὲν ὤν. Else we should read μόνον. The meaning plainly is, ‘and thus πόνηρόν is only bad, as water is to fire, but good in due season to thirsty land.’ The article should evidently follow εὐκαίρως. Lagarde makes it ἀκαίρως, after Wieseler. But for ἔστι κακὸν μόνον or μένον Wieseler proposes the very needless and pedantic ἐστὶ τι μέσον. Having added other examples of things relatively good and evil, Simon then says, with μήτι γε in the same sense as before, ‘Perhaps what seems to be wickedly done delights the doer, but punishes the sufferer; καὶ εἰ ἄδικον δοκεῖ, that the person that loves himself should delight himself as far as possible, that on this account he should also suffer severities from a just God for having loved himself, to whom does not this appear unjust?’ Wieseler says this is manifestly corrupt, but so difficult that he abstains from dealing with it. I cannot see the great difficulty. One might fancy that a negative should be introduced before ἄδικον. But I cannot suppose it was intended to make Simon say anything so monstrous as that it does not seem unjust that one should gratify his self-love in any possible manner. I rather think the stress should be on the word δοκεῖ, ‘if it does seem unjust.’ Then to this qualified admission he adds, as something more evident, ‘to whom does it not appear unjust to punish severely a person for loving himself?’ In the final clause, τίτι οὐκ ἄδικον φαίνεται, Dressel has rightly printed τίτι as an interrogative. The MS. has τίτι indefinite, which would make Simon say the very opposite of what was intended. To this question of Simon we have the reply in the next chapter.

HOMILY XIX. 19.

In answering this charge of injustice Peter begins by saying, 'He ought to chastise himself by self-restraint; ἐγκρατεία, when his passion would urge him to the injury of another, knowing that the evil being is able to slay the wicked, having from the beginning received this power against them. He then adds :—ἀλλ' οὕτω τοῦτο κακὸν τοῖς κακὰ πράξασιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν κολαζομένας διαμένειν, τοῦτο ὄντως εἶναι χαλεπὸν δικαίως τῶν κακῶς προδιωρισμένων ὀρθῶς ἔχειν εἶποι τις. οὐ εἵνεκεν παραιτεῖσθαι χρή, ὥς ἔφην, βραχείας χάριν ἡδονῆς ἄλλον ἄδικον, πρὸς τὸ μὴ αὐτόν τινα ὀλίγης χάριν ἡδονῆς αἰδίῳ περιβαλεῖν κολάσει. Thus the passage is printed by Dressel, manifestly untranslatable in its present form. The words τῶν κακῶς προδιωρισμένων are in the MS. τὸν κακῶς προδιωρισμένον, and have so far been rightly altered by Dressel, the error being one likely to happen in writing from dictation. He did not, however, carry his correction far enough, absurdly rendering the words 'pro male praedispositis,' though, as we shall see, he had within a few lines enough to supply the true reading and meaning. Wieseler lets it pass, only making a peddling suggestion of ἄν before εἶποι. For κακῶς we should read κακῶν, 'the crimes having been previously defined.' That this is the intended meaning is evident; for Simon presently after, supposing that sins are not such by nature, but by law and custom, instancing the Persian marriages with near blood relations, argues that, κακῶν μὴ ὠρισμένων πᾶσι, judgment is not to be anticipated from God. Dressel rightly reads εἶποι τις for εἰπόντος of the MS. Farther on, in the passage quoted above, Wieseler rightly suggests to read ἄλλον ἀδικεῖν for ἄδικον and αὐτόν for αὐτόν. The whole passage will then be correctly rendered as follows : 'But

not yet (*i.e.* after the evil being has slain them) is this bad for those that have acted badly, but that after being slain, their souls should continue in punishment; that this should be really severe, one might pronounce with justice, when the crimes have been previously defined, to be as it ought.' There should be a greater pause after διαμένειν than a comma: 'Wherefore it is necessary, as I have said, to avoid for the sake of a short pleasure to wrong another, in order that one should not for the sake of a little pleasure involve himself in eternal punishment.'

Simon now makes another suggestion, beginning as before with μήτι. 'Perhaps evil or good do not exist by nature, but differ by law and custom. Thus with the Persians it is peculiar to marry mothers, sisters, daughters, ἄλλας δὲ ὥσπερ χαλεπώτ[ατον ἀ]γορεύεται. ὁθεν τῶν κακῶν μὴ ὠρισμένων πᾶσι τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ κρίσιν προσδοκᾶν οὐκ ἔστιν.' The part in brackets is Dressel's way of filling a lacuna, but Wieseler rightly says it should be ἀπαγ. He has not noticed the absurdity of ἄλλας which is in the MS. ἄλλης. It was surely never meant to say they were forbidden to marry other women. We should read of course with Lagarde, ἄλλοις, forbidden by other nations. Then we should connect πᾶσι with ὠρισμένων, and not with προσδοκᾶν, as Dressel does.

In reply Peter says that 'this cannot hold good, for it is manifest to all that such unions are abominable, though the Persians, being a little part of the whole, do not through evil custom perceive the unlawfulness of their abominable practice; as also the Britons act shamelessly in public, and others eat men's flesh, καὶ οὐ μυσάττονται· καὶ ἕτεροι τὰ κυνῶν καὶ ἄλλα ἄρρητα πράσσουσιν.' Thus Dressel has printed, and made nonsense of what is good sense in the MS. There should only be a comma after μυσάττονται, and with the MS. we should omit τὰ before κυνῶν, and then read καὶ ἄλλοι. We shall then have, instead of doing

the acts of dogs, 'others eat dogs' flesh, and do other unmentionable acts.' He then adds, 'Thus it is not right to form our judgments by a sense perverted by custom from what is in accordance with nature. For it is both an evil to be put to death, though all do not say so, *ὅτι μηδεὶς αὐτοπαθεῖν θέλει, καὶ κλοπῇ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κολάσει ἡδεται.*' I should translate *αὐτοπαθεῖν*, a word which Wieseler says is found 'perraro,' not 'to bring suffering on himself' with Dressel, but 'to suffer for the sake of suffering itself,' and then I would brush away all that has been said about *κλοπῇ* here in the sense of theft, and take it in a not uncommon manner to mean, 'secretly,' 'by stealth.' 'Nobody takes pleasure secretly in tormenting himself.' Whatever one might do, or pretend, for show or any other reason, no one is in his heart pleased at being tormented for the sake of torment. He then adds, *κἂν οὖν ἐνὸς οὐδέποτε ὁμολογουμένου εἶναι ἁμαρτήματα, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τρίτην κρίσιν πρὸς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὀρθῶς ἔστι προσδοκᾶν.* Wieseler would read for *ἐνὸς οὐδέποτε*, *ἐνὸς οὐ δήποτε*, and Lagarde gives *οὐδέποτε* in the sense of anyone at all, when plainly no one at all is intended. But what is a third judgment? Wieseler proposes *καὶ κάρτα τήν*. A simpler and better alteration of *τρίτην* would be *ἔτι τήν*: 'Though nobody at all should acknowledge that there are sins, even further we should expect the judgment in respect to the sins,' a judgment to determine not only the commission of the acts, but how far under the influence of custom the doers were to be held responsible for their crimes. The passage thus becomes quite luminous.

HOMILY XIX. 20.

Simon having asked did Peter really think the case respecting the evil being was as he seemed to say, Peter says, that as our Lord had bid his disciples to keep for

himself and for the sons of his house his mysteries, and had explained them privately to them, it would not be pious to expose them to him who, as an adversary, only wanted to find them out, whether true or false. I suppose he meant that Simon only wanted to discover the secrets without caring whether they were true or not : μηδὲν ἕτερον διασκοποῦντι ἢ τὰ ἡμέτερα, εἴτε ἀληθῆ ὄντα, εἴτε ψευδῆ, τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγειν ἀσεβείν ἐστίν. He then adds, ‘But that any of those present should not suppose, ὅτι ἀδυνατῶ πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ ῥηθέντα ἀποκρίνασθαι (προφάσεως διαμνηχανῶμαι) ἐρῶ πρότερον πυνθανόμενός σου, εἰ τὸ μὴ ἀλγεῖν ἦν, τί ἂν ἐστὶν ἦν ὁ πονηρός;’ In this sentence Wieseler justly says we should read ἀδυνατῶν and προφάσεις, and Dressel’s half-moons should be obliterated. In Peter’s question, to avoid the difficulty of τί ἂν ἐστὶν ἦν ὁ πονηρός, Dressel has the translation, quid significet ‘erat malus,’ si ‘non dolere’ erat? There is nothing in the context to justify taking these phrases substantively. We should read with Lagarde τί ἂν ἔτι ἦν. ‘If there were no such thing as pain, what would the evil being any longer have been?’ We must bear in mind that in all this discussion ὁ πονηρός has the special sense of severe, delighting in the suffering of others inflicted by way of punishment, rather than denoting moral depravity. Simon replies that he would have been nothing. Peter says again ‘τὸ πονηρὸν is then to be in pain, I suppose, and to die,’ to which Simon assents. Peter then says, ‘Evil therefore does not subsist, ὑπάρχει, always, nor indeed can it have subsisted; for to be in pain and to die are accidents, neither of which exists when health is present.’ He then pursues this thought in regard to the various causes of pain and death. In regard to all these, when immortality prevails they will appear to have existed with good reason. This will be when by reason of righteousness man becomes immortal, τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρηνι- [κῆς] ἐπικρατούσης βασιλείας. Here the three genitives are

bad, and the lacuna should be filled with κῶς. Then follows, as printed, ὅτε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ κραῖσις εὐκρατός ἐστιν ἵνα μὴ ὀξείας [φύη] ὀρμάς· ἔτι τε καὶ γνῶσις ἄπταιστος, ἵνα μὴ τι τῶν κακῶν ὡς ἀγαθὸν π[ικροποιούν] τε ἀλγοῦν ἔσται, ἵνα μὴ θνητὸς ᾖ. As the first lacuna has room for eight letters φύη is not right. It might be αὐτῇ ποιῇ. For Dressel's silly filling of the second lacuna, Wieseler proposes παραδέχεται οὐ. It makes good sense, but we expect μὴ τι to be the subject not the object of the verb, and only seven letters are missing. I prefer therefore to read πλανᾷ οὐ. The οὔτε is not good here, and I propose οὐ τὸ ἀλγεῖν ἔσται. The MS. has ἀλγῶν, which is impossible, and we are therefore justified in going back to the word with which this part of the discussion began.

HOMILY XIX. 21.

Simon says that is all right; but are not men here susceptible of all sorts of passions? Peter says they are accidents, and not things existing always, at present happening usefully to the soul, τῇ ψυχῇ, perhaps life. For the sexual passion happens to the animal man, in order that, led by it, he might multiply humanity, ἀφ' ἧς πλῆθος ἐκλογῆς κρειττόνων γίνεται πρὸς αἰώνιον ζωὴν ἐπιτήδειον. Here I think we should certainly read ἐκλογῇ: 'From whence arises a multitude fit for eternal life, by selection of the better.' Having enlarged on this instance, he concludes by saying, ὁμῶς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οἰκείως εὐρεθήσεται, εἰάν γε δι' ὃ ἔλεγον ἐ[πι]νοηθῇ. Dressel has filled the lacuna (if there is one) correctly, without knowing why. For he translates 'si considerentur modo a me indicato.' 'Modo' does not represent δι' ὃ; and for his translation he should have read ἐννοηθῇ. But the other would be right: 'all other things will be found suitable, if at least they were contrived for the purpose I have mentioned.' He says the MS. has λεγον, but Lagarde gives without remark

διὸ γέγονε νοηθῆ, which I suppose is the real reading of the MS.

HOMILY XIX. 22.

Simon now asks why are there untimely deaths, periodical epidemics, demons, madness, and such like sufferings? Peter replies that these are caused by men's indulging their desire without observing proper times of separation, which is as pernicious as planting at improper seasons. Hence one who had learned the traditions from Moses, accusing the people for their sin, calls them υἱοὺς νεομηνιῶν τῶν κατὰ σελήνην καὶ σαββάτων. This should not be translated 'noviluniorum secundum lunam et sabbatorum filios,' with Dressel. It should be 'children of the first days of months by the moon, and of weeks.' Σάββατα stands for weeks several times in the New Testament.

We come now to a passage of some importance. Notwithstanding several very plain references to our fourth Gospel in these Homilies, Hilgenfeld and others tried to get rid of them by various devices until the discovery of the completion of the work by Dressel removed all possibility of doubt. In connexion with the subject just mentioned Peter says, as the words are given by Dressel, ὁθεν καὶ [διδάσκ]αλος ἡμῶν περὶ τοῦ ἐκ γενετῆς πηροῦ καὶ ἀναβλέψαντος, παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξετά [ζων ἐρωτήσασιν] εἰ οὗτος ἡμαρτεν ἡ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ ἀπεκρίνατο κ. τ. λ. Wieseler, following Volkmar, fills the lacuna which Dressel has filled with nonsense by ἐξετάζουσιν ἡμῖν. The MS. has ἐξετα[]εν οὗτος, with room for fourteen letters. Read ἐξετά[ζοντί τινί εἰ ἡμαρτ]εν κ. τ. λ. The word ἡμαρτεν is not otherwise expressed in the MS.

Peter goes on to say that these ills arise from ignorance and not from evil wrought. (Lagarde substitutes ἐργασμένα for the genitive of the MS.) Προσέτι δὲ δὸς τὸν μὴ ἁμαρτάνοντα, καὶ λάβε τὸν μὴ πάσχοντα, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάσχειν καὶ

ἄλλους αὐτὸν θεραπεῦσαι δυναμένους εὐρήσεις. Wieseler points out that we should read *δυναμένον* to agree with *αὐτόν*. But this error was occasioned by a previous one. Only one person was intended, and we should read *λάβε αὐτόν*. 'Give the man that does not sin, and assume that he does not suffer, and you will find him able to heal others also, in order that they should not suffer.' But it is better to read *πρὸς τῷ μὴ πάσχειν*, 'in addition to not suffering you will find him able,' etc. He instances Moses, who was all his life free from suffering, and able by his prayers to heal the Egyptians suffering for their sins.

HOMILY XIX. 23.

Simon says, 'Let these things be as you say; but do you not think the anomaly of human conditions most unjust—one sick and another poor, and so on?' Peter replies that this is beside the question before them, but he will answer. The world is an organism constructed with art, *ἵνα τῷ ἐσομένῳ ἄρρени αἰωνίως ἢ θήλεια τίκτη δικαίους αἰωνίους υἱούς*. In this I think we should read *αἰωνίῳ* for *αἰωνίως*. In accordance with the writer's doctrine of syzygies, the present life is feminine as opposed to the masculine future. Peter then alleges that the present inequalities afford the pious an opportunity to become perfect by acts of kindness. Simon replies that in that case the lowly are truly unfortunate. But Peter says, 'If their low estate were perpetual, it would, indeed, have been the greatest misfortune, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ κλήρῳ τὰ ταπεινώματα καὶ ὑψώματα ἀνθρώποις γίνεται· ὃ δ' ἂν μὴ ἀρέσκη ὁ κληρος ἔνεστιν ἐκκλητῶς χρησάμενον καὶ νομίμως διαδικασάμενον τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπαλλάξαι βίον.' In this passage Wieseler justly says *ἐκκλητῶς* should be *ἐκκλητῷ*, in the sense of an appeal, as is evident from Simon's immediately asking *τίς οὗτος ὁ κληρος καὶ ἐκκλητος*; But the passage has been otherwise misunderstood, as if

Peter meant that low and high estate were assigned by lot, 'sorte attribuuntur.' But *πρός* with a dative cannot be thus rendered. It means here 'beside,' or 'over and above.' And the *κληρος* is their condition, as belonging to the kingdom of the evil one or the good. 'Low and high estate are things beside their lot. The person that is not pleased with that can resort to an appeal, and, having his case lawfully adjudicated, change his life by himself,' where *ὕπ' αὐτοῦ* should, I think, be *ὕφ' αὐτοῦ*. Peter's meaning will be clear from his answer to Simon's request for an explanation. 'This is the exposition of another subject of discourse; but if you will allow me, I shall be able to show you how, having been regenerated, and having changed your genesis and lived lawfully, you can obtain eternal salvation.' This explains the true *κληρος*, in comparison with which the casual circumstances of life are accompaniments of little moment because temporary.

HOMILY XIX. 24.

This chapter, as printed by Dressel, bristles with difficulties. I shall first give Simon's words as follow: *Μήτι νομίσῃς, ὥς ἐπειδὴ εἰς ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον ζητῶν [σε] συνετιθέμην ὥς πληροφορούμενος ἐφ' ἕτερον ἐρχόμενον κεφάλαιον; ἀλλ' ἀγνοίας σοι τὸ πείθεσθαι παρεῖχον, ἵνα ἐπ' ἄλλο ἔλθῃς κεφάλαιον, ὅπως πάσης ἀγνοίας σου μαθὼν μὴ στοχαζόμενος καταγινώσκω σου· ἀλλὰ πεπληροφορημέ [νων] νῦν ἤδη τριῶν ἡμερῶν μοι συγχώρησον, καὶ ἐλθὼν δείξω σε μηδὲν εἰδότα.* The first thing to remark in the above is that *ζητῶν* should be *ἐζητουν*, else the sentence will be incomplete. Wieseler then made radical changes in the whole sentence, making *σε* after *ζητῶν*, *σοι*, introducing words, and making *ἐρχόμενον* to depend on *συνετιθέμην*. It may very well agree with *σε*, and *ζητέω* in this work frequently has an accusative for its object. The translation will be, 'Don't suppose that when I dis-

cussed with you on each head, I have yielded, as if satisfied, as you pass to another head.' Lagarde suppresses the admitted lacuna, and reads *ἡρχόμεν* without remark.

In the next sentence the MS. has *τοῦ πείθεσθαι*, and Wieseler would make it *ἀλλ' ἀγνοία σοι τοῦ πείθεσθαι δόξαν παρείχον*. Even so, *ἀγνοία* is scarcely intelligible. Lagarde has *ἀλ.....νόιας*. We need not introduce *δόξαν*; but as *ἀγνοίας* must be altered, it will suffice to read *ἀλλὰ ἐπινοία*, or *ἀλλὰ προνοία*: 'But by a device (or with foresight) I yielded compliance to you, that you might proceed to another head, in order that, having learned of you and not guessing, I might condemn all your ignorance.' Below, Lagarde has *πάσας* with nine dots, followed by *νόιας*. We might read *ὑμετέρας ἀνοίας*, 'all your folly.'

Next, Wieseler would reconstruct the following sentence, chiefly because this was really the fourth, not the third, day of the discussion. But he does not notice that it was still early on the fourth day, as appears from the next chapter. For after Simon had gone away we read *ἔτι ὥρας οὐκ ὀλίγης οὔσης*, time enough for Peter to heal the sick and to hold a conversation with his own followers. We may therefore leave this sentence as it is. But as the MS. has a space of twelve letters, we should introduce *τῇ ζητήσῃ* after Dressel's *νων*: 'But now, three days having been already entirely consumed by the discussion, excuse me, and when I have come I will show that you know nothing.'

Simon having said this, Faustus, Clement's father, scarcely yet a believer, who acted as moderator, says: 'When you have heard a few words from me, Simon, go as you like. I remember that at first, before the discussion, as having yet had no experience of me, you alleged against me foregone conclusions,' in which sentence Dressel's way of rendering *προλήψεις μου κατέφερες* is 'divinationes meas contempsisse.' I shall now give the remainder of the

remarks of Faustus in the original, as printed by Dressel : καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐπαλλήλως ἀκούσας τῆς ζητήσεως καὶ Πέτρον ἐν ὑπεροχῇ γνοὺς καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀληθεύειν νῦν δοὺς, τί σοι φαίνομαι ; ὀρθῶς κρίνειν εἰδώς, ἢ οὐ ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὀρθῶς κρίναντά με φαίης, μὴ συνθῇ, ἵνα μὴ φαίην προειλημμένος, ὁ καὶ μετὰ ὁμολογίαν ἡττων συνθέσθαι μὴ θέλων. We may with advantage pause here for a remark. I have often noticed in these Homilies a considerable laxity in the use of aorist participles in a sense of present or future time. Making all allowance for subjective relations of time, the νῦν δοὺς in this passage is a strong instance. Faustus had not previously spoken, and is now, as it were, giving judgment. Next, the words μὴ συνθῇ, ἵνα μὴ φαίην are Dressel's nonsense. The comma should be removed and the words of the MS. replaced, δέ, σὺ φαίην, putting a comma after δέ ; and the σὺ is emphatic, as opposed to himself. For ἡττων the MS. has ἡτταν, for which Wieseler proposes rightly ἡττης ; but he would render προειλημμένος by 'deprehensus' with reference to Sap. Sol. xvii. 27, and Gal. vi. 1. 'Prejudiced' is evidently the meaning. The passage may now be translated :—' But now having heard in turn the discussion, and knowing Peter to have the best of it, and now granting him to have truth on his side, what do I seem to you, knowing how to judge rightly or not ? For if you say that I have judged correctly, but do not submit, μὴ συνθῇ δέ, σοι would seem to have had foregone conclusions, who, after confession of defeat, do not wish to submit.' He means by submitting the acceptance of Peter's opinions. I may proceed now with the speech of Faustus : εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ ὀρθῶς τὸν Πέτρον ἐν ὑπεροχῇ τῆς ζητήσεως ἀπεφαινόμην, σὺ ἡμᾶς πείσον πῶς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐκρίναμεν, ἢ τοῦ ζητεῖν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πάντων μὴ παύσῃ, ἐπεὶ ἔσται σοι ἐκάστοτε ἡττωμένῳ καὶ συντιθεμένῳ. ἢ δὲ τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι ἔχεις ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἅντι μεγίστης τιμωρίας, καταγινωσκομένῳ καὶ ἀσχημονοῦντι ὑπὸ συνειδήσεως τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἀλγείν ψυχὴν· τὸ γὰρ νενικῆσθαι σε ἔργῳ εἶδομεν. The chief

difficulty of this passage consists in its false punctuation. After the word *ἐκάστοτε* there should be a comma; and *ἢ* introduced would make the sense clearer, though not necessary. Then the full stop after *συντιθεμένῳ* should be a comma; and for *δέ*, after *ἢ*, interposing a comma, we should read *εἰ*, making it *ἢ, εἰ*, not Lagarde's *εἰ δέ*. Again, there should be a comma after *τιμωρίας*, and, with Wieseler, we should read, *ἐπὶ πάντων*, instead of *ἀπό*. We may then translate: 'But if I have not rightly pronounced Peter to have the best of the discussion, do you persuade us how we have not judged rightly, or do not cease to discuss with him in the presence of all; else you will have, in each case—(either) defeated and submitting, or, if you hold it as the greatest punishment to be ashamed in the presence of all the hearers (and so do not submit), being condemned and behaving shamelessly—to be pained in your own soul by conscience. For that you have really been vanquished we know.' The words I have introduced parenthetically are plainly implied.

The remainder of the speech of Faustus is as follows : τὸν δὲ ἐπαγγελλόμενόν σου λόγον ἠκούσαμεν. πέρας γοῦν οὐκ οἶμαι σὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐλθεῖν, ὡς ὑπέσχου, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ δοκεῖν μὴ αἰτιᾶσθαι ἐξίων ἐπανελθεῖν ὑπέσχησαι. The beginning of this passage should be separated by a longer pause than a comma from the preceding, and only by a colon from the sequel. Dressel has given *αἰτιᾶσθαι* instead of *αἰτεῖσθαι* in the MS. as he read it. Wieseler would read *ἡττησθαι*, and for τῷ before *δοκεῖν* he would have *τό*. If we read *αἰτεῖσθαι* and τῷ the meaning would be, 'We heard your professions (at the beginning); at the end I do not think, however, that you have come to the discussion, as you promised; but along with not seeming to be asked, you have promised going away to come back.' He means that Simon wished to appear not to have been asked, but to make a

spontaneous promise to return. The nonfulfilment of his former promise is explained by the fact that he had made numerous suggestions of difficulty, but did not attempt to refute Peter's arguments. Lagarde reads without remark *αἰδεῖσθαι*, and changes *τῷ* to *τό* against the MS.

We are told he went out then gnashing his teeth with rage. And there being plenty of time, Peter laid his hands on a great crowd for healing, and returned home with his companions. They are anxious to put questions to him, but refrain, as they suppose he is fatigued, and put off their inquiries to the next morning.

HOMILY. XX 2.

In the first chapter of this book Sophonias asks Peter what was the real doctrine respecting the evil being. Peter says he had already explained it in the previous discussion, but that it might not have been sufficiently clear, as having been discussed in conjunction with several other heads. He now proceeds to tell them 'the truth of the harmony concerning the evil being.' God had ordained two kingdoms, and had appointed two æons or ages. The first, as brief and transitory, was given to the evil being; the second, as eternal, is reserved for the good one; and he endued man with free will. He then says, that the human body is *τριμερές*, tripartite, having its genesis from the female. The tripartite nature is explained by the affections of *ἐπιθυμία*, *ὀργή*, and *λύπη*, and their subordinate affections. He then says *τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ τριτογενὲς ὄν, ἀλλὰ τριμερές* has its genesis from the male. Here we may be satisfied that *τριτογενὲς* is a mistake. But my objection is only to the form of the word. The usual correction is to read *τετραγενὲς*, as the body is so called farther on with reference to the four elements. But it was not the number of elements, but the composite nature of

the spirit he meant to deny here. If he had said *τετραγενές* it would be open to suppose that though not consisting of four, it might have three. I assume, therefore, that he took the number that was before him and wrote *τριγενές* after the analogy of the *τετραγενές* afterwards applied to the body. It was as much as to say, 'Don't suppose that when I say tripartite I mean compounded of three kinds or elements; I only speak of faculties. These are *λογισμός*, *γνώσις*, *φύσις*, and their subordinate faculties. Each of these triads has one root, so that man is compounded of two *φυράματα*, the male and the female. Hence two ways are set before him, answering to the two kingdoms. The ruler of the present world was formed by temperament to take pleasure in the destruction of the wicked. The ruler of the world to come loves all human nature, but cannot have his way, *παρρησίαν*, under present conditions, [*ἀλλ'*] *ὥς τις ποῦ ἔστι λαυθάνειν πειρωμένος τὰ συμφέροντα συμβουλεύει.*' I cannot see in any of this the need of the alterations Wieseler would make, and shall not therefore discuss them. But as the lacuna is larger, I would read *καὶ* or *ἀλλ'* οὕτως *τίς*, κ. τ. λ.

HOMILY XX. 3.

Each of these rulers, by God's command, uses force against the other. Every man has power to attach himself to which of them he will. If one chooses to do good, he becomes the possession, *κτήμα*, of the future king. If he does ill, he becomes the servile instrument, *ὑπηρέτημα*, of the evil one. 'He having, on account of sins, by righteous judgment, received power against him,' *καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος θέλησας αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ κολάζων ἥδεται.* Thus Dressel has given the sentence, introducing by his own authority the words *αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι*, the MS. giving, as it seems, no indication of any omission. He has thus gratuitously introduced an idea which the MS. does not

contain, and where the sense is good without it. The participle *θέλησας* simply means 'when he has wished,' 'at his will.' It is an interesting example of a similar usage of the same verb by S. Paul in Col. ii. 18, *μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβεύετω θέλων ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ*, κ. τ. λ. See margin of Rev. Version, 'of his own mere will.' The passage thus reads, 'Before the future age, at his pleasure administering punishment in the present life, he is delighted, and, gratifying his own desire, he carries out the will of God. ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἐπὶ δικαίων ἐξουσία χαίρειν δημιουργηθεὶς δίκαιον εὐρὺν μέγαν εὐφραίνεται. For *χαίρειν* the MS. has *χάριν*, and by this alteration the strange notion of rejoicing in power is ascribed to the good Ruler. The proper emendation is to read *ἐξουσίας*, 'made for the sake of ruling over the righteous.' We have indeed, a little after, the words *χαίρειν δημιουργηθέντος*, but there it is to delight in the salvation of the righteous that is meant.

These are the two swift hands of God. They have not their being from without God, for there is no other *ἀρχή*. Nor were they projected from God as living beings, for then they would have been of the same glory. Neither did they come into being automatically beside His will, else His power would have been impaired. But from God were projected the first four elements, *ὅθεν δὴ καὶ πατὴρ τυγχάνει πάσης οὐσίας οὐσης γνώμης τῆς κατὰ τὴν κρᾶσιν*. Here Wieseler thinks something has been lost, and Lagarde gives a space of five letters after *οὐσίας*. I think sufficient sense would be produced by a comma and *αὐτοῦ* between *οὐσίας* and *οὐσης*, 'there being His design in respect to their state after mixture.' For, he says, being mingled outside, their disposition, *ἡ προαίρεσις*, was generated as an offspring. Hence the evil being, having served God blamelessly, as not being of a single substance, that only tends to malice, may, by a new sifting of his components, become good.

HOMILY XX. 4.

Another disciple asks how men come to sin, and Peter says, through ignorance of judgment to come, and of future punishment. Whence he says, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν . . . διαδοχὴν βίου ἔχοντες, ταύτην πληροφοροῦσιν ὡς ἔτυχεν ἡμ[έρων] παίδων φθορᾷ, κ. τ. λ. Though the apposition is possible, I suspect that διὰ has been lost before διαδοχὴν on account of the seeming repetition. Lagarde gives εἰς. Wieseler objects to Dressel's filling of the lacuna by the word ἡμέρων, and he would substitute ἡμιπεπάνων or ἡμιπεπείρων to agree with παίδων. And Lagarde has borrowed the latter. This is most ridiculous, besides introducing an odious idea. Dressel's reading only wants the change of an accent to make it right. It is not ἡμέρων (*tenerorum*) agreeing with παίδων, but ἡμερῶν 'days.' We should fill the rest of the lacuna by ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων φθορᾷ. The meaning is plain enough. They satisfy their desire on any days that happen, without regard to the proper periods of separation, of the impropriety and ill consequences of which to the offspring we find so much in these Homilies, as in xix. 22.

At the close of the chapter we find that he who exercises his natural anger justly, as it is allowable, is pious, but going beyond measure, καὶ ἐαυτῷ τὴν κρίσιν λαβὼν, he is impious. Dressel makes this 'judicio obnoxius peccat.' Surely it means, taking the judgment on himself, making himself judge in his own cause, or, as we commonly say, 'taking the law into his own hands.' It is inconceivable how incompetent Dressel was for the editing of such a work. His merit was great in bringing the MS. to light and supplying the text. But as to judgment in emending errors, or translating even simple sentences, he was miserably incapable.

HOMILY XX. 6.

In the fifth chapter Sophonias objects to the application to God of the example derived from men who beget both evil and good offspring, though good themselves. He can understand this in the case of men who, being compounded of the elements, are liable, by changes of seasons and other causes, to be variable and to produce variable offspring. But God being invariable when He projects must produce an offspring in all respects like Himself. In the present chapter Peter replies that he is in doubt whether he ought to discuss the question of evil at all; but, however, he will give his suppositions. He agrees it is not right to attribute everything human to God, and then says, *ἀντίκα γοῦν οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔχοντες τὰ σώματα τρεπτὰ οὐ τρέπονται, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ τῶν τροπῶν ἀλλοιοῦσθαι φύσιν ἔχουσιν*. This makes two clauses apparently contradictory. I think we should read *ἀτρεπτά*, the first letter having been merged in the preceding *a*. The word *ἀντίκα*, ‘all at once,’ stands in opposition to *χρόνῳ*. The meaning is, ‘all at once, however, men not having unchangeable bodies do not change, but they are naturally altered in time by the seasons. It is not so with God. But by His implanted spirit with secret power, the body becomes whatever He wills.’ Air is turned into dew, and again being made dense becomes water; but water being consolidated becomes stone and earth, and stones being broken together kindle fire. Moses’ staff became a serpent and a staff again, by which the water of the Nile became blood, and was again turned back into water; man, being dust, was turned by God’s breathing into flesh, and again turned back to dust, and Moses himself being flesh was turned into a great light, so that the people could not look at him.

HOMILY XX. 7.

Peter then goes on to say, 'Perhaps you will say one may be changed by another, but not by himself. To be changed is the case with mortals, but cannot take place with immortals. Nay,' he says, 'angels not subject to old age and of fiery nature have been changed into flesh, of which there are examples in the angels that visited Abraham and the angel that wrestled with Jacob. Mortals cannot change themselves to whatever they wish, but he who, being master of his own nature, can, is immortal.' He then adds, as printed, *ὅθεν πόλιν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις, ὅτε θέλει τοῦ σώματος τὴν οὐσίαν εἰς ὃ θέλει μετατρέπει, καὶ ὁμοούσιον μὴ παρούσῃ τροπῇ προβάλλει, ἰσοδύναμον δὲ οὐ*. Here it will be plain that it is of God changing His own body the writer is speaking. I think we might read *αὐτοῦ σώματος*, but the article may here have the sense of *his*. The *μὴ* is certainly wrong. Wieseler would have it *μὲν*. I think the *μὲν* not being necessary, it should be *τῇ*, unless we read both: 'The power of God, when He wills, turns the substance of His body into what He wills, and projects what is of one substance with the present variation, but not of equal power.' To explain why it is not of equal power, the following is printed by Dressel: *ὅτι ὁ μὲν προβάλλων καὶ εἰς ἑτέραν οὐσίαν τραπέντα πάλιν ἐφ' ἑαυτον τρέπειν δύναται, ὁ δὲ προβληθεὶς τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνου τροπῆς τε καὶ τέκνον ὑπάρχων ἄνευ τοῦ προβάλλοντος βουλῆς ἄλλο τι γενέσθαι οὐ δύναται, εἰ μὴ ἐκείνος θέλει*. In the first member of this sentence Dressel has transposed the order of the words as given by the MS., and has introduced the word *τρέπειν*. An infinitive is necessary, but it may be supplied by an alteration without interpolating a word. The MS. reading is *ὅτι ὁ προβάλλων καὶ εἰς ἑτέραν πάλιν οὐσίαν*

ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τραπέντα δύναται. We should read ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ in the sense of by himself, 'proprio motu,' without external aid. And for τραπέντα we should read τραπήναι: 'Because the projector can, by himself, be turned again into another substance. But the projected, being also the offspring of his variation, cannot, without the will of the projector, be made anything else, unless he wills it.' Hence, though ὁμοούσιος he is not ἰσοδύναμος. I think the τε καὶ in the second sentence is a mistake. In one copy τέκνον may have been written twice, and then in another the first τέκνον was made τε καὶ. This theory of creation by projection of the substance of the Creator is maintained by Lamennais, in his *Esquisse d'une Philosophie*, vid. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Mars, 1889.

HOMILY XX. 8.

Another of Peter's disciples then asks if the evil and the good beings came into existence in the same way and were consequently brothers. Peter says not: the tetraginous bodily substance of the evil being was projected by God, πεφυλοκρινημένη, with its elements separate. He then adds as printed: ἔξω δὲ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προβαλόντος βουλὴν ἐκράθη πρὸς τὴν κρᾶσιν ἢ κακοῖς χαίρουσα προαίρεσις. ὥς νοεῖν, ὅτι θεοῦ μὲν τέκνον ἢ τετραγενῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ προβληθεῖσα οὐσία, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ οὐσα ἀεί. In this sentence Dressel has changed κραθείση of the MS. into ἐκράθη, thus making αὐτῆς to be genitive on ἔξω, and the mixing to take place outside the substance, whereas it was within its parts. It was outside God it took place, and ἔξω is to be used absolutely. Wieseler has seen that αὐτῆς and κραθείση of the MS. should agree, either both datives or both genitives, and he justly prefers the latter. Besides, it was not the προαίρεσις that was mixed, but it was the result of the mixture. Wieseler

would make *πρὸς τὴν κράσιν* to signify ‘secundum temperamentum,’ which is not its meaning. I would make it *προσῇ τῇ κράσει*, ‘there was present with the mixture, or occurred with it, a disposition delighting in ill.’ Otherwise we should introduce with Wieseler some such word as *συμβέβηκεν*. What I propose is the lesser alteration. In the last part, for *θεοῦ μὲν τέκνον* we should read *ἔστι* for *μὲν*, or else understand the verb substantive. And in the last clause, *ἡ καὶ αὐτή*, we must join *ἡ* to *αὐτή*, ‘the same.’ The whole will then be as follows: ‘But externally, it being mixed according to the will of Him who projected it, there occurred to the mixture the disposition that delights in ill. So it is to be understood that the tetragenous substance having been projected from Him is an offspring of God, and is always the same,’ *i. e.* the substance is always the same. He then adds, as Dressel erroneously prints, *διὰ τί δὲ ἔξω ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κραθείσης οὐσίας ἡ συμβεβηκυῖα κακοῖς χαίρουσα προαίρεσις ἐπεγίνετο*; Thus we have an unanswered question. And Wieseler rightly prefers the reading *τῆς* for that of the MS. *τις*, without the imaginary *διὰ*: ‘But the substance being externally mingled by him, the accidental disposition delighting in ill supervened. And so it,’ *viz.* the disposition, ‘was not generated by God, nor by any other; but neither was it projected by Him, nor did it come forward automatically, nor was it always as the substance before the mixture, but according to the will of God, it externally happened with the mixture. And it was necessary that it should be so, as we have often said. But the good being, generated from the most excellent variation of God, and not having happened by an external mixture, is truly a Son.’ But he says this is a subject not to be talked about, but rather thought of in silence: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ λέγειν ἴσως οὐχ ὥς ἔχων ὁ φθελγόμενος ἀμαρτήσεται*. Here Dressel’s and Lagarde’s departure from the MS. is again wrong. The MS. has *ἔχον*, ‘describing it perhaps not as it

is,' instead of 'as perhaps not being able,' which is very poor.

HOMILY XX. 9.

Lazarus now asks how it is reasonable that the evil being having been appointed to punish the ungodly should be sent afterwards with his angels together with them into the lower darkness, as he remembers the Teacher to have said? Peter admits that the evil being does nothing wrong in this respect, being restrained by fear of God from acting unjustly, though by falsely accusing the teachers of truth, as a plot against the undiscerning, he is called διάβολος, devil. He and his angels shall indeed go into the lower darkness. But ὁ πονηρὸς σκότῃ χαίρειν κατὰ τὴν κρᾶσιν γεγωνώς —. Thus Dressel gives the words, but the MS. has χαίρουσαν τὴν κρᾶσιν, and Wieseler, followed by Lagarde, would have for γεγωνώς, I think rightly, λελογχώς, as farther on. 'The evil being having obtained the temperament that delights in darkness is pleased at descending into the darkness of Tartarus, for darkness is friendly to fire. But the souls of men being drops of pure light, swallowed up by fire of an alien substance, and not able by nature to die, are punished according to their deserving.' We have then the following: εἰ δὲ ὁ τῆς κακίας ἡγεμὼν ἄνθρωπος ὢν οὐ πέμπεται εἰς τὸ σκότος ὥς μὴ τούτῃ χαίρων, τότε οὐ δύναται ἢ κακοῖς αὐτοῦ χαίρουσα κρᾶσις μετασυγκριθῆναι εἰς ἀγαθοῦ προαίρεσιν. Before attempting to make this difficult passage clear we must first restore the last sentence to its state in the MS. Instead of Dressel's τότε οὐ δύναται the MS. has τὸ δὲ δύναται. It will presently be seen that this should be either τῷ δέ or τότε δύναται, and that Dressel's negative makes the writer say the opposite of what he intended. If we now go back to the preceding clause, it is manifest that ἄνθρωπος ὢν is corrupt. Wieseler would read ἀνθρώποις, the leader to men. But this is quite irrelevant, and rather spoils the

sense, for it is not as a cause of wickedness to men that he is spoken of here, but as the punisher of men. All that is needed is to read ἄνθρωπος ὤς, κ. τ. λ. We shall then be able to translate as follows: 'But if the leader of malice is not, as a man, sent into darkness as not delighting in it, then (or in this way), his temperament delighting in ill can be changed in its mixture into a disposition for good.' Wieseler would read πῶς δὴ δύναται, which would be a greater change, and not give the sense required. The writer wants to affirm the possibility of the change for the better. This is followed by these words: καὶ οὕτως ἀγαθὸς συνεῖναι κριθήσεται. Wieseler here proposes to read ἀγαθοῖς, and illustrates this way of speaking by Lucian's εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνεῖναι. But this would be a strange way of speaking with κριθήσεται, for which 'condemned' would be here impossible, and 'judged' would seem to require some adjective such as innocent, or good, or to express a fact such as that he was with the good, which is not what was meant. It is enough to read ἀγαθὸς νῦν εἶναι κριθήσεται, 'he will be judged to be now good, and the more in this way, that having obtained λελογχώς, a temperament delighting in ill, by reason of fear towards God, he did nothing contrary to what was agreeable to the law of God.' This notion of the conversion of the devil, in the character of ὁ πονηρός, the severe being, is then said to have possibly been enigmatically hinted by the reconversion of Aaron's rod from a serpent into its original state.

HOMILY XX. 10.

Another of the disciples then asks, as Dressel has printed the question, διὰ τί πᾶσι τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων [μεταδίδως]; οἱ μὲν πείθονται, οἱ δὲ ἀπειθοῦσιν. Before we can criticise these words we must know Peter's answer. He says:

‘For the words are not incantations, that anyone who has heard them must certainly believe. By some believing and some not, free-will is plainly shewn.’ Now from this reply it is evident that the inquiry was not why the same words were imparted to all, but why some believed and some did not? We must, therefore, remove the note of interrogation to the end. And the way in which the lacuna of the MS. has been filled is wrong. It must be a participle in the genitive absolute agreeing with λόγων. It may be λεγομένων, or διδομένων, the space being for nine letters. The question will then be, why the same words being spoken, or the same doctrines delivered to all, some believe and some do not? It is to this the answer is given, and not to a silly enquiry why he imparted the same to all, when all do not equally believe his words? This brings the conversation to an end.

HOMILY XX. 13.

Word having been brought that Appion and Annubion have arrived from Antioch, and are staying with Simon, Faustus is delighted, asks leave of Peter to go and visit them as friends of his youth, and hopes he may persuade Annubion, who was an astrologer, to come and discuss with Clement the doctrine of Nativity, γένεσις. He obtains leave; they wait for him all night, and he only returns near daylight. He apologizes for his staying out; Peter sees nothing strange, but all the rest start with horror. The voice is the voice of Faustus, but the appearance is that of Simon. They cannot believe it is Faustus, though Peter assures them it is. Then comes one of the fore-runners that Peter was accustomed to send in order to learn what Simon was saying and doing. He tells them that Simon had persuaded the people of Antioch that Peter was a magician and an impostor, and had so set

them against him that they were ready to eat him alive. While they were in perplexity Cornelius the Centurion, sent out on a mission by Cæsar to the Governor of the Eparchy, was sent for, and having learned the trouble they were in, promises to banish Simon if they will follow his advice. He was secretly to whisper about that he was sent by the Emperor to capture Simon as a magician, and Peter's forerunners, who were with Simon, were, as if in the secret, to communicate this to Simon, who would forthwith take to flight. Cornelius begins his advice in this way: ἐμοῦ διὰ πολλῶν φίλων κρύφα εἰς σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ ἐληλυθέναι περισκοποῦντος καὶ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν φάσκοντος, κ. τ. λ. This evidently needs emendation. But we need not, with Wieseler, borrow from Josephus the unusual word *περικομποῦντος*, on the strength of the word 'divulgabo' in the Recognitions, which is sufficiently expressed by *φάσκοντος*. It will be enough to read *περισκοπεῖν τε καὶ ζητεῖν*. Or we might read *περισκοποῦντα*, agreeing with ἐμέ, understood before ἐληλυθέναι. One would suppose that either of these emendations was so obvious that there was no need for looking out for rare dictionary words. But in proposing *περικομποῦντος* Wieseler has shown himself to be *περίκομπος*, as he has done on many other occasions. The plan is successful. Simon departs from Antioch, and so came to Laodicea.

HOMILY XX. 14.

Peter now divines that Simon had metamorphosed Faustus, and had himself assumed the likeness of Faustus: Καίσαρος νομίσας ἐπὶ κακῷ αὐτὸν ζητεῖν. It is obvious that Καίσαρα should be read here. Faustus acknowledges that it was so, for Annubion, as an old friend, had in a mysterious manner told him of the plot, but he did not believe it.

HOMILY XX. 16.

Annubion presently arrives, and tells them that Simon had on the same night set out for Judæa. He finds them all wailing, to his surprise. Peter encourages them by saying that God will show them some remedy, but tells Faustus he had permitted him to visit his old friends, but not to company with Simon. Annubion then tells how it happened. When the good old man came to visit them they were all listening to Simon, who wished to run away that night, as he had heard of the arrival at Laodicea of an officer in quest of him. Seeing Faustus enter he turned his wrath against him. He bids them make him partake of salt with them, that is, that by sharing the table of demons he might come under his power. He will prepare a certain ointment with which Faustus after supper might anoint his face, and so appear to all to have Simon's form. He adds, *ὁμοίως δὲ βοτάνης τινὸς ὕλης προεναλειψόμενοι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἀπατηθήσεσθε ὑπὸ τῆς τένης αὐτοῦ μορφῆς, πλὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ὁ Φαῦστος δόξει εἶναι Σίμων*. There is here evidently an error in *ὕλης*. Wieseler, followed by Lagarde, proposes *χυλοῖς*, because 'succo' is used in the Recognitions. But they seem to have forgotten that *ὕλη* is the general term for ingredients used in medicaments, as in the well-known phrase *ὕλη ἰατρικὴ*. The Recognitions are not by any means so exact a translation as to be a guide even where they do agree in substance with the Homilies. It is enough to read *ὕλη* for *ὕλης*, 'having your eyes first anointed by me with a material of a certain plant.'¹ Afterwards *τένης* is 'vox nihili.' Wieseler would have *καινῆς* or *θετῆς*. A lesser variation will suffice. The new form was expressed by *κενῆς*, a mere empty show, not having beneath it a substantial reality. For this Lagarde has *ξένης*.

¹ It was, of course, their eyes were anointed. *Ἐναλειψαί, as distinguished from ἐγγρίσαι, was properly used for anointing the eyes.*

HOMILY XX. 17.

Annubion says that he then asked Simon what would be the use of that. Simon replies that if those who were looking for him should take Faustus for him, they would cease looking for himself; and if Faustus should be put to death by the Emperor's hand, his two sons would be punished for leaving him and becoming followers of Peter. Moreover, Annubion says, to tell the truth, he was afraid of Simon to inform Faustus. He goes on to say ἀλλ' οὐδέ καιρὸν ἡμῖν ὁ Σίμων ἐδίδου πρὸς τὸ ἰδιάζειν [εἰ μὴ] αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Σίμωνος κακὴν ἄν εἴηνα βουλήν. The bracketted [εἰ μὴ] is nonsense. The lacuna in the MS. is μῶν. And for ἄν εἴηνα it has ἐφάνη without the ἄν. Several conjectures have been proposed. I should suggest [ἔπει τις ἐξ ἡ] μῶν ἔφαινε: 'Simon did not give us an opportunity of being alone, else one of us would have shown him the wicked counsel of Simon.' In this manner of speaking the imperfect does not require ἄν to be expressed. As Simon was starting, he affects to feel unwell, and as soon as he is gone hurries to get Faustus home during the night, lest he might be taken prisoner. Having told them all this, he then declares that he sees not the appearance of Simon, but the real Faustus, and seeing them standing there without recognizing their father, he is amazed at the magical power of Simon, and sympathizing with them he sheds tears.

HOMILY XX. 20.

Peter having adopted the plan of sending Faustus in the likeness of Simon to Antioch, who should there, personating Simon, profess repentance for all he had said

against Peter, acknowledge himself to have been a magician, and advise the people to follow Peter, he proposes that Faustus should be accompanied by his wife Matthidia and his two elder sons, leaving Clement with himself. Clement then says ἡ δὲ μήτηρ συναπελθεῖν αὐτῷ ὁκηρῶς εἶδε λέγουσα μοιχὰς γὰρ εἶναι δοκῶ τῇ Σίμωνος συνοῦσα μορφῇ· εἰ δ' ἄρα συναπέρχεσθαι ἀναγκασθήσομαι, ἀδύνατον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης κλίνης συγκατακλιθῆσεσθαι. . Wieseler proposes to take ὁκηρῶς εἶδε in the same sense as the well-known phrase φιλῶς ὁρᾶν; but he has given no instance of this usage, and it seems very unlikely to be thus employed. I propose to read εἶκε, 'was yielding with reluctance.' Or still better, we may read εἶχε, 'was in a state of hesitation.' It will then be unnecessary to supply the word λέγουσα, which Dressel has introduced without authority. For it is implied by her yielding, which was expressed in the words following. She says first she would seem an adulteress, companying with Simon's appearance, as his wife of course is meant, for else she would not seem to stand in nearer relation to him than to one of the others that Peter proposed to send besides her two sons. She then adds, 'If, therefore, I shall be compelled to go with him, it will be impossible, ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης κλίνης συγκατακλιθῆσεσθαι. For τύχης, which is 'evidently wrong, Wieseler wants to introduce τύλη, 'culcitrae.' This is very weak. It was not the furnishing of the couch she was thinking of, but the sameness of it. Neither was it sleeping in the same bed she spoke of in these words. That was put out of the question by the word συνοῦσα. She now requires, as a necessary condition of her going, that she should not be asked even to recline on the same couch at meals or on any like occasion. All we need is to read τύχη for τύχης. It might be convenient to place her at meals on the same couch with her husband for want of a separate one at the inn. This

she cannot allow. She cannot recline on the same couch, by chance, even in a casual way. Lagarde omits the word without remark.

The fraud is successful. In ten days they have news that the people of Antioch are longing for Peter's arrival. Some even wish to lay hands on Faustus, supposing him to be Simon. Peter accordingly settles the affairs of the Church at Laodicea, and appoints a bishop. After baptizing and healing during three days he sets out for Antioch, and this brings the Homilies to a close.

J. QUARRY.

NUGAE AESCHYLEAE.

Prometheus Vincetus, 49.

Ἡφ. ἔμπας τις αὐτὴν ἄλλος ὄφελεν λαχεῖν.

Κρ. ἅπαν τ' ἐπράχθη† πλὴν θεοῖσι κοιρανεῖν. 49
ἐλεύθερος γὰρ οὐτις ἐστὶ πλὴν Διός.

‘**T**O gods all things were given (by destiny) except supreme power, the prerogative of Zeus alone, who is therefore really free.’ This is the sense clearly required in ll. 49, 50. Zeus is distinguished from the other gods, who are not free, because they must obey him.

ἐπράχθη yields no meaning, and accordingly it has been proposed to read ἐπαχθῇ, which Hermann, Dindorf, and others adopt. But this was not the reading of the Medicean scholiast, whose note is—

ὥρισται ἐτυπώθη. τινὲς δὲ πάντα ἐκ Μοιρῶν δέδοται
τοῖς θεοῖς πλὴν τοῦ ἄρχειν.

Mr. Paley, in his comment on the passage, makes some suggestions based on this scholium; for example, ἐτάχθη or ἐκράνθη. Both of these words are palaeographically not very far removed from ἐπράχθη, and ἐκράνθη would give a suitable sense; but, as both are common and simple words, it seems unlikely that either should have been changed to ἐπράχθη, and ἐπράχθη could hardly be due to a mere slip of the pen.

Now in Æschylean criticism it appears to me a sound doctrine that corruptions have constantly arisen from the occurrence of unfamiliar words or forms, and here, I think, such has been the case. I believe that Æschylus wrote—

ἅπαντ' ἐπρώθη πλὴν θεοῖσι κοιρανεῖν.

ἐπρώθη is an aorist from πιπρώσκω, πέπρωμαι, just as ἐτρώθην comes from τιτρώσκω, τέτρωμαι, and ἐβρώθην from βιβρώσκω, βέβρωμαι. This word suits the sense admirably, and accords perfectly with the scholium: 'All things were granted by fate to gods, except to have supreme lordship' (with κοιρανεῖν compare εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω). It is hardly a case of hyperbaton.

Ib. 147.

πέτρῃ προσαναινόμενον
τᾷδ' ἀδαμαντοδέτοισι λύμαις.

It seems possible that Æschylus intended a paronomasia in the juxtaposition of ἀδαμαντοδέτοισι and λύμαις.

Agamemnon, 179.

στάζει δ' ἐν θ' ἵπνῃ πρὸ καρδίας
μνησιπήμων πόνοσ.

The phrase στάζει πόνοσ is not intelligible until we recognize that Æschylus wished to suggest 'drink' by πό-νοσ (πόμα, πέπωκα, πῶ, &c.). A potion, not of Lethe, but of bitter memory, is set before the sleeper's heart; and he may not drain it at one draught; it trickles drop by drop.

Ib. 356.

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ καὶ νῦν φίλῃ
μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρα
ἦτ' ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες
στεγανὸν δίκτυον, κ. τ. λ.

356

Line 356 is metrically imperfect: read

μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρ', ἱρᾶς
ἦτ' ἐπὶ Τροίας, κ. τ. λ.

Ib. 1129.

πίτνει δ' ἐν ἐνύδρῳ τεύχει.

δολοφόνου λέβητος τύχαν σοι λέγω.

1129

Weil proposes *τέχναν* for *τύχαν*, unnecessarily. *τύχαν* (from *τεύχω*, cf. *τύχος*) means a piece of work.

Ib. 1298.

εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως

μόρον τὸν αὐτῆς οἶσθα, πῶς θεηλάτου

βοός δίκην πρὸς βωμόν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς ;

1298

The poet clearly intends a play on *βοός* and *βωμόν*, in l. 1298. This coincides with Mr. Verrall's view of *ἐτήτυμος*, *ἐτυμός*, put forward in his edition of the *Septem Contra Thebas*.

Ib. 814.

δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ

κλύοντες, ἀνδροθνήτας Ἰλίου φθορὰς

εἰς αἵματηρὸν τεῦχος οὐ διχορρόπως

ψήφους ἔθεντο.

The late Professor Kennedy, I think, has made out his case against *κλύοντες*. (1) There was no pleading to be heard, and (2) *οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης* clearly refers to the silent balloting of the gods, not to those who were judged. But Kennedy's own reading, *κρίνοντες*, is not sufficiently like *κλύοντες* to be satisfactory. I propose to read *λύοντες*. *λύω*, 'to solve,' might be used with *δίκην*, as with *ἀπορίαν*. The question of the Trojan War was a problem of justice whose solution devolved upon the gods. Cf. *lite resolvère lite*.

In regard to ἀνδροθνήτας ἱλίου φθοράς, I submit that the two constructions proposed for these words are incorrect. Kennedy has sufficiently shown that φθοράς is not governed by ψήφους ἔθεντο = ἐψηφίσαντο; but his own explanation, making it epexegetical of δίκας, seems also objectionable and harsh. The sentence is simple, if we remember that the gods are more than ordinary jurymen. The pebbles which they are conceived as casting into the urn of blood are the actual φθοραί (φθοράς is in apposition to ψήφους), and this is the motive of the celestial ballot; otherwise tongue-sentence would have sufficed.

Ib. 945.

πρόδουλον ἔμβασιν ποδός.

πρόδουλος (ἀπ. εἰρ.) is generally taken as equivalent to ἀντίδουλος, 'as a slave, slave-like.' It is, perhaps, worth while suggesting that προ- may here have a correlative force, as in προμανθάνω, προδιδάσκω.

Ib. 698.

ἀκτὰς ἐπ' ἀεξιφύλλους.

The scansion demanded is _ _ _ _ _ . Paley's ἀκριτοφύλλους and Margoliouth's ἐννοσιφύλλους are too far from the MSS. reading. Read

ἀξυλοφύλλους,

'with dense foliage': cf. ἀξύλω ὕλη, *Λ*, 155. Such a rare word was peculiarly exposed to corruption. The derivation of ἀξύλος is uncertain.

J. B. BURY.

ECONOMIC NOTES.

I.

STUDENTS of Economics are now quite familiar with the statement that a good deal of the earlier economic doctrine rests on a belief in the existence of a 'law of nature,' derived from the Roman theory of a *Jus naturale*. This belief has been more especially attributed to the *Physiocrates*, and in a modified form to Adam Smith. It is therefore a matter of some interest to see exactly the use made in the *Wealth of Nations* of the terms 'Nature,' 'natural,' and 'naturally.' The first of these terms is sometimes used to describe the action of physical forces, as in the well-known passage, 'In agriculture Nature, too, labours along with man.' More frequently it is equivalent to 'kind' or 'character,' as 'the nature of the commodity,' 'the nature of his work,' 'the nature of its laws and institutions,' 'the nature and extent of the business.' The adjective 'natural' is used to characterize the productions of nature in its first sense as given above. Thus we find 'natural foot,' 'natural fertility.' Its second sense is more important. It is employed to describe what is usual or normal. Thus we have 'the natural progress of opulence,' 'the natural effect,' and so on. That this is the proper meaning, and that no special idea of providential direction is implied, appears, I think, clearly from the following passages:—'We seldom, indeed, hear of the combination, because it is the usual and, we may say, the *natural* state of things.' 'They must be in their ordinary or what may be called their *natural* state.' 'The usual and *natural*

proportion.' That Adam Smith did not believe in the excellence of everything that was 'natural' is plain, from his statement that 'Entails are the *natural* consequences of the laws of primogeniture,' though he expressly declares that in the present state of Europe 'nothing can be more completely absurd,' and will only admit that 'when great landed estates were a sort of principalities they might not be unreasonable.' Still stronger is his mention of 'the unavoidable obstructions which the *natural* course of things opposes to the immediate or speedy establishment of a better system . . . These *natural* obstructions to the establishment of a better system cannot be removed but by a long course of frugality and industry.' We also meet 'The corruption of justice *naturally* resulting . . . scarce admitted of any remedy.'

The conclusion that 'natural' and 'naturally' are almost the same as 'usual' and 'usually' is supported by the fact that when Adam Smith desires to state a law of nature, in the modern sense of the term, he adopts a different word, viz. 'necessary,' or 'necessarily.' In fact the opposition between the terms 'natural' and 'necessary' is constantly recurring in the *Wealth of Nations*, as: 'The habit of sauntering which is *naturally* or rather *necessarily* acquired;' 'The liberal reward of labour, as it is the *necessary* effect, so it is the *natural* symptom of increasing national wealth'; 'The study of his own advantage *naturally*, or rather *necessarily*, leads him to prefer that employment which is most advantageous to the society.' The foregoing quotations do not adequately bring out the almost tiresome repetition of the words, 'natural,' 'naturally,' 'necessary,' 'necessarily,' all through the earlier books of the *Wealth of Nations*, but they suffice to establish the proposition that Adam Smith does not dwell on a 'code of nature,' or a determination of economic conditions by a *Jus naturae*. Even in his doctrine of 'natural price'

there is no assertion of an inevitable law. 'In that early and rude state of society which precedes both the accumulation of stock and the appropriation of land, the proportion between the quantities of labour necessary for acquiring different objects seems to be the only circumstance which can afford any rule for exchanging them for one another. If among a nation of hunters, for example, it usually costs twice the labour to kill a beaver which it does to kill a deer, one beaver should *naturally* exchange for or be worth two deer. It is *natural* that what is usually the produce of two days' or two hours' labour should be worth double of what is usually the produce of one day's or one hour's labour.' No one free from a preconceived belief could imagine that the theory of value, as so stated, is anything else than an induction from experience. The frequent occurrence of the adverb '*necessairement*' in the writings of Mercier de la Riviere—whose work Adam Smith specially commends—throws some light on the latter's use of the term 'necessarily.' La Riviere—at least in that portion of his work edited by Daire—very seldom used the term '*naturel*.' Indeed a main point of his argument is to show that the *ordre naturel et essentiel*¹ of which he treats is the *necessary* product of arrangements in accordance with nature.

The belief that Adam Smith's system was one of extreme optimism—though strongly maintained by Cliffe Leslie—seems, as Mr. Sidgwick has shown,² quite irreconcilable with some of his express statements. The general impression left by a close reading of the *Wealth of Nations* is rather that the advance of society is extremely slow, and such as it is that it comes from *spontaneous* individual effort. If any label is to be attached to his system, 'meliorism' is surely the correct one. In his

¹ A phrase which is almost translated and Reason.'
in Adam Smith's 'Order of Nature

² *Pol. Ec.* p. 20, 1st ed.

own words, 'The uniform, constant, and uninterrupted effort of every man to better his condition, the principle from which all public and national, as well as private, opulence is originally derived, is frequently powerful enough to maintain the progress of things towards improvement, in spite both of the extravagance of government and of the greatest errors of administration . . . It is this effort, protected by law and allowed by liberty to exert itself in the manner that is most advantageous, which has maintained the progress of England towards opulence and improvement in almost all former times, and which it is to be hoped will do so in all future times.'¹

II.

Adam Smith's account of the movement of the rate of profit and interest during the progress of society has been severely criticised by J. S. Mill, who asserts that 'his' (Adam Smith's) 'language on the subject is wavering and unsteady, denoting the absence of a definite and well-digested opinion'; and referring to his supposed view that 'competition of capital lowers profits by lowering prices,' he declares it to be 'incorrect in fact as well as unsound in principle.'²

Now whatever may be thought of Adam Smith's doctrine, there can be no doubt whatever that it is definitely and distinctly set forth; but Mill unfortunately looked for it in the wrong place. Instead of the brief statement given at the opening of the chapter on Profits in the *first* book, he should have examined the account of Interest in the *second* book, which runs as follows:—

As capitalists increase in any country, the profits which can be made by employing them necessarily diminish. It becomes gra-

¹ Pp. 141-2 (Ed. Nicholson).

² *Principles*, Book IV., ch. iv. s. 1.

dually more and more difficult to find within the country a profitable method of employing any new capital. There arises in consequence a competition between different capitals, the owner of one endeavouring to get possession of that employment which is occupied by another; but upon most occasions he can hope to jostle that other out of this employment by no other means but by dealing on more reasonable terms. He must not only sell what he deals in somewhat cheaper, but in order to get it to sell he must sometimes, too, buy it dearer. The demand for productive labour, by the increase of the funds which are destined for maintaining it, grows every day greater and greater. Labourers easily find employment, but the owners of capital find it difficult to get labourers to employ. Thus competition raises the wages of labour and sinks the profits of stock.¹

The fall of profits, to put the point shortly, is, he thinks, due—(1) to the lowering of price; (2) to the increase of wages which the increased competition of capital causes. To make the first part of the statement true, it is necessary to exclude money from the list of commodities, and to regard it as an article *sui generis*, whose value depends mainly on its quantity, not on its cost of production. Were money an ordinary commodity its production would be affected by the increase of capital, and an increased supply of money would prevent the fall of prices. It is instructive to notice that recent theories of interest, *e.g.* those of Jevons and Leroy-Beaulieu, recognize the increasing difficulty of finding ‘a profitable method of employing any new capital,’ as one cause of the decline of interest. The theory adopted by Mill errs in making the law of diminishing return in agriculture, by its action on the cost of the labourers’ subsistence, the sole cause of the generally observed decline in the rate of profit.

¹ P. 145 (Ed. Nicholson).

III.

The theory of rent, erroneously attributed to Ricardo, after having been vehemently controverted and criticised, seems at last to be accepted by all economists who take the trouble to understand the limitations and assumptions which are needed to make it correct. The tendency is now rather to develope and apply the conceptions used in expounding the theory to other parts of the subject of distribution, and at the same time to examine more closely the precise way in which the rent theory is worked out. It therefore seems desirable to call attention to an error in the ordinary mode of stating the doctrine. Thus it is said by Mill: 'Of the land in cultivation, the part which yields least return to the labour and capital employed on it gives only the ordinary profit, without leaving anything for rent'¹ This statement is, at a later part of the chapter put into the form 'that there is always some *agricultural capital* which pays no rent,' and the expositions of later writers are in substance the same. Now a simple case will show that it is possible for all land and also for all agricultural capital to pay rent. Suppose that an isolated country is supplied with food from soils of six different qualities (or situations), or by six successively applied units of capital and labour on soil of the same fertility, or situation, the expenses of production being 40s., 41s., 42s., 43s., 44s., and 45s. per quarter respectively. The price of corn will be 45s., and the five superior soils or more advantageously placed units of capital will yield rents of 5s., 4s., 3s., 2s., and 1s. per quarter of corn produced respectively. Now let us suppose that the demand for corn at the price of 45s. per quarter is a little greater than the supply, so that in order to render supply and demand equal, the price rises to 46s. per quarter: further, let us assume that the next grade of land, or the return to the

¹ *Principles*, Book II., ch. xvi., s. 3.

seventh unit of capital, will be such as to require a price of 47*s.* per quarter, in order to compensate the producer. Then it is plain that a price of 46*s.* will not bring about the cultivation of this soil or the use of this unit of capital in producing corn, and yet all the land in cultivation, or all the units of agricultural capital, can pay a rent, the lowest yielding 1*s.* and the others increasing their former yield by 1*s.* each. This illustration shows the need of an amended statement of the law of rent. Instead of saying 'that the rent of land is fixed by the excess of its production over that of the worst land in cultivation,' it would be more accurate to say, the rent of land varies between limits, the lower one fixed by its excess yield over that of the *worst land in cultivation*; the upper one by its excess yield over what would be the yield from the *best land not in cultivation*. Where there is a considerable distance between these two grades of soil there is room for a wide variation in rent, governed only by the action of the demand for the commodity which the particular soil produces. Finally, let us suppose that there is no land not in cultivation, and that there is no field for the use of additional units of capital; we then reach the case of pure 'monopoly' or rather 'scarcity' value. Though this state has never existed with respect to the bulk of agricultural products, it probably is illustrated in the case of wines produced in special vineyards, whose area of production cannot be increased. The law of rent thus amended covers all possible cases where competition is operative. We are not forced to regard monopoly rents as anomalous exceptions, but merely as the result of a general law working under special conditions.

IV.

The strongest advocates of the economic theory of rent have regarded cottier rents as being exceptional. As

these rents are by their definition founded on competition, it seems strange that a different law should be requisite for them, and a closer examination will, I think, show that this supposed exception is not really such. 'They' (the cottiers), says Mill, 'give up in the shape of rent the whole produce of the land, with the exception of a sufficiency of potatoes for a subsistence.'¹ But this is exactly the description of a special case of the law of rent. The population has so far increased as to force down wages to the subsistence point. The mode of agriculture is so rude that there is practically no capital on which interest has to be paid, and the residue under the action of competition necessarily goes to the landlord. Mill's account of the determination of cottier rents is manifestly erroneous. He holds that 'rent in this state of things depends on the proportion between population and land.'² His criticism of a similar statement, when made by others, is a severe one: 'Some confusion must always attach to a phrase so inappropriate as that of a *ratio* between two things not of the same denomination.'³ Now it cannot be maintained that population and land are 'of the same denomination.'

We may conjecture that Mill was misled—(1) by his predecessor and model, Jones, who treats of cottier rents from a different point of view, and (2) by his desire to advocate a reform of the Irish land system without suggesting State interference with economic rent. The absence of capitalist farmers could not of itself alter the law of rent, since capital adds to the efficiency of production, and its interest comes from this surplus fund. Similar considerations apply to the employer's gain, so that there can be no scientific reason for separating rents paid under the action of competition by cultivating labourers from the rents of capitalist farmers.

¹ *Principles*, Book II., ch. ix., § 2.

³ *Principles*, Book III., ch. ii., § 3.

² *Principles*, Book II., ch. ix., § 1.

V.

The analysis of cost of production, and the relation of the various shares in distribution to price and value, have been treated at great length by economists; but we can hardly say that the essential points so long in dispute are yet definitely settled. It appears that the object of explaining value, which has led to the efforts to analyze cost, has distracted the attention of most writers. The safest course is to examine all the factors of production, both primary and secondary. The elements of cost of production can be no other than those of the factors which are not obtained gratuitously. It seems almost a truism to say that the elements of cost of production consist of the *costly* factors of production. The first factor of production is Nature, and though some natural forces are obtained gratuitously, yet superior qualities or, where the demand exceeds the supply, all grades, if capable of appropriation, yield rent; therefore we may say that the amount of gratuitous service rendered by natural agents is one element in determining cost, *e.g.* the position of the margin of cultivation is an element in determining the cost of producing (and therefore the value of) wheat. (2) Labour is the next factor of production, and no one has ever disputed that the amount of disagreeable effort to be undergone in production is one element of its cost. The error usually committed here has been a confusion between *labour* and the *wages* which, under certain conditions, are a measure of the sacrifice it necessitates on the part of the labourer. Wages of ordinary labour are, then, an element in the expenses of production, since they measure the cost to the labourer. Higher wages for extra skill do not affect cost, since the higher price is paid for superior service; but where monopoly exists in the case of special kinds of labour it may affect the expenses of production. (3) Capital is a secondary factor of pro-

duction, whose aid will not be obtained without abstinence on the part of the capitalist, and a payment for that abstinence by those who desire to use the capital. Interest, the price paid for the loan of capital, is a further element in the expense which measures cost. The price paid for the use of capital has an effect on the value of the articles produced by the aid of that capital. (4) The grades of ability of the employers must be taken into account. Though the gains obtained by superior organization and economy are not a deduction from the produce, since, without them, the produce would be so much smaller, the fact that employers of inferior ability can hold their ground is a cause tending to raise the cost of the product. (5) Invention, social organization, and the services of the State, which undoubtedly increase production, are not, in general, costly. They only appear in the case of royalties on patents, and taxation on certain commodities. The former are in reality paid for the use of a superior agent of production, and the latter are compulsory deductions, but are only occasional, not necessary elements. It seems, therefore, that we may best speak of *four* factors of production as affecting cost, viz.—(1) the position of the margin of production; (2) the amount of sacrifice incurred in labour measured by ordinary wages; (3) the amount of abstinence on the part of capitalists measured by the rate of interest paid for the use of capital; (4) the extent to which economy of materials, business arrangements, and social organization have been carried. Change any of these elements and the cost of production changes: if all remain unaltered cost of production is unaltered too, *i.e.* omitting the occasional and disturbing element of taxation. It should be noticed that interest and wages form measures of cost; rent and the employer's gain (*unternehmergewinn*) do not. I am compelled, therefore, to dissent from the criticisms passed on this part of the older theory by Professor

Clark in his recent valuable and interesting Paper.¹ It seems obvious that rent and interest do not stand on the same line: the former is the surplus yield from certain natural agents: the latter is the return on all capital measured by its *final* utility. The real analogue to rent is the higher utility of the earlier units of capital, which does not go to the capitalists, but to 'the labourers themselves, or the public generally, as consumers,'² to use Jevons's words. A similar difference exists between the position of ordinary wages and the employer's gain.

VI.

In the first edition of his *Principles of Political Economy* Mr. Sidgwick sought to show that Mill, in expounding his theory of international values, committed an error by temporarily omitting cost of carriage, since, were that condition absent, international values would depend on cost of production, 'except we make the further hypothesis rarely likely to be realized in fact, that after the trade is established there is no product common to the trading countries.'³ In defending Mill's doctrine I referred to a later part of his statement where he declares, 'But for it' (cost of carriage) 'every commodity . . . would be either regularly imported or regularly exported.' A country would make nothing for itself which it did not also make for other countries.' In a note to the second edition of his work Mr. Sidgwick replies that 'this, however, does not amount to saying that there would be no product common to any two trading countries if cost of carriage were non-existent;

¹ *Possibility of a Scientific Law of Wages*, pp. 64, sq.

² *Theory of Political Economy*, p. 278.

While dissenting on this special point, I feel bound to express my deep sense

of the very great service that American economists are performing by their thorough sifting of the leading economic doctrines, and also in many other ways.

³ Sidgwick, p. 218.

since, granting Mill's inference, two countries might still make the same thing for export to a third, as well as for home consumption.'¹ When we call to mind that the whole of the earlier part of Mill's exposition refers to two countries, which he evidently supposes to be isolated from the rest of the world, it surely follows that the assumption of the countries exporting to a third is not admissible, and that in this simple case Mill's doctrine is not an obvious error, nor (if I may say so without disrespect) did my interpretation of it at all increase its 'extravagance.' It will not then be rash to conclude that if we limit our view to a world with two trading groups, and two only, the assumption of cost of carriage being non-existent is quite allowable. Passing now to the more complicated case of three or more countries, we have to see whether any alteration in the fundamental conditions of exchange is introduced. *A priori* anything of the kind would not be expected. 'Trade among any number of countries,' says Mill, 'and in any number of commodities, must take place on the same essential principles as trade between two countries and in two commodities,'² a statement which is substantially repeated by Jevons.³ It is, however, more satisfactory to consider in what case it is possible for two countries to export a common product to a third. If one country finds a profit in exporting a given quantity of a commodity, then, assuming that the law of proportional return is in operation, it will be equally for its profit to export any larger quantity, a process which will rapidly lower its exchange value; nor is there any limit to this increased export at lower price except that set by the condition of comparative cost. Now if a second country, where the cost of production is higher than in the first,

¹ Sidgwick, p. 206, n. 1 (2nd edition).

³ *Theory*, p. 124 (2nd edition.)

² *Principles*, Book III., ch. 18, § 2.

be also an exporter, it is plain that it will be driven out of the market, so that we may conclude that in general, under the supposed conditions, two countries will not produce a common article of export unless—(1) the costs are the same in both; or (2) that the whole productive force of one of the countries is devoted to turning out the article in question; or (3) in the exceptional case when only a limited amount of productive power is available for the special commodity. These cases, however, confirm Mill's position, since in (1) the action of reciprocal demand coincides with, but is not determined by, the action of cost; while in the others the case is one of scarcity, where cost of production admittedly does not determine value, even in domestic trade.

With regard to Mr. Sidgwick's further contention that Mill's non-recognition of the law of diminishing return makes his doctrine 'incorrect in fact,' I venture to think that the point at issue does not deal with the *correctness* of a *fact*, but with the *legitimacy* of an *assumption*. It must be admitted that Mill did not state with sufficient precision all the assumptions made by him in expounding his theory; but, fully granting this, it is nevertheless true that his work in this department of economics is not so slight as to allow of such an easy demolition as the establishment of Mr. Sidgwick's view would produce.

VII.

In a later part of his elaborate and critical work Mr. Sidgwick seeks to establish, or at all events to render probable, the proposition that free trade may lead to displacement of labour, and in his second edition he has further emphasized his argument by the addition that a community may lose not only in population but also in wealth by the adoption of free trade. In illustration of

his view he puts forward what he very justly describes as 'an extreme case,' which may best be given in his own words :—

Suppose a country (A) so thickly populated that additional agricultural produce could not be obtained from the soil except at a rapidly increasing expense, and suppose that one-third of its actual produce of this kind—say for brevity its corn—is now consumed by the persons engaged in its chief branches of manufacture. Suppose that the country, having been strictly protected, adopts Free Trade, and that consequently the manufactures in question are obtained at half the price from another country (B) in exchange for corn : and for simplicity let us assume that the result of the fall in price is that the same *total* price is paid for the manufactures annually consumed. What, then, are the manufacturing labourers thrown out of work by the change to do ? The course most obviously suggested by the circumstances is that they should emigrate, and supply the labour required in the extended manufactures of B, or in the newly developed trade between A and B. If they do not do this there seems no general ground for assuming that they will all be able to find employment in A as remunerative as that withdrawn from them. No doubt as the cost of production in agriculture may be assumed to increase continuously, a certain amount of additional labour may now be employed in agriculture which will be more productive on the whole than some of the labour employed before the trade was opened, the diminution in the amount of corn produced by each new labourer being more than balanced by the increased power of the corn to purchase manufactures. But if the additional labour is only applicable at a rapidly increasing cost, the point will very soon come at which this balance will be reversed, and it is theoretically quite possible that a portion of the labourers thrown out of manufacturing employment could not, in the present condition of industry, be employed in A in agriculture so as to yield any surplus above their own consumption. And if they could not be profitably employed in agriculture, it is theoretically possible that they could not be so employed at all.¹

¹ *Principles*, pp. 494–5 (1st ed.).

The foregoing case suggests several points of interest. It is, as Mr. Sidgwick says, 'an improbable one,' since a country where the law of diminishing return operates so powerfully is far more likely to *import* than to *export* agricultural products. Still there are countries so placed—Ireland in the early part of this century was probably one—and there can be no doubt that under such conditions foreign trade, leading to an extension of cultivation, may lower the return to agricultural industry, and so far injure the labouring class. Against this disadvantage we must set the addition to rent from the descent of the margin of cultivation, and the reduced cost of imported goods. The fact that by the opening of a foreign trade country A exports *food* lends further plausibility to the contention that its population may thus be diminished. But these considerations are, I believe, disposed of by a closer investigation of the features of the case as stated above. The essential condition for international trade is a difference in comparative cost; but if the corn of country A so rapidly increases in cost as additional amounts are required, it seems plain that the difference in the comparative costs of production of corn and manufactures in A and B will diminish and finally disappear, at which point, the utility of the trade ceasing, the trade itself will cease. Should the cost of producing corn still go on increasing, the state of things will be reversed, and A will *export* manufactures and *import* corn. Until the trade ceases there will be *some* gain or utility derived from it, though, as I have elsewhere shown,¹ particular classes may suffer.² Another interesting point which is entirely unnoticed by Mr. Sidg-

¹ *Theory of International Trade*, p. 104.

² Professor Loria of Siena, in an interesting communication to the London Statistical Society, has independently arrived at a similar result, and

I am glad to be able to refer to the opinion of so able and learned an economist in support of my view. See *The Journal of the Statistical Society*, June 1887, vol. I., pp. 408-10.

wick is the probable effect produced by the previous 'protection' on the population of country A. By it—assuming that the product of each labourer is the same in value—a tax of over 16 per cent. has been levied on the population, *i. e.* manufactures form one-third of their expenditure, and are doubled in price, and levied too on articles of which they stand in need, since all the funds set free by the removal of the 100 per cent. duty are devoted to buying increased supplies of these very commodities. Therefore it cannot be doubted that *were labour able to move freely* from A to B, the policy of protection would place a premium on the emigration of agricultural labour from A. Indeed Mr. Sidgwick's case derives its force principally from the tacit assumption that the introduction of Free Trade also creates a previously non-existent mobility of labour and capital. Unless this assumption be made, we are forced to believe that the population of the 'protected' country, A (unless its resources were so far superior to country B, that cost of living in spite of 'protection' would be lower than in B¹), would suffer in population by a restrictive policy. A further consequence, resulting from the supposed adoption of Free Trade, which is not referred to in Mr. Sidgwick's discussion, is the effect produced on the agriculture of B. The opening of trade between A and B, if it displaces manufactures in the former, must so far displace agriculture in the latter. Even admitting that the manufacturers in A emigrate to B, the conditions of cost will be such as to make the export of agricultural produce to B profitable, and this produce will dislodge an equal amount of the produce of B, so that some of its agriculturists will be compelled to emigrate to A, and will find more advantageous employment in that country, until the rapidly increasing cost of production removes this advantage, when trade will cease.

¹ In which case it would not lose population by the adoption of Free Trade.

It therefore appears that, even in this 'extreme' and improbable case, the effect of Free Trade in reducing population cannot be established on theoretical grounds, while in practice no such illustration is to be found. Perhaps the condition of Ireland between 1825 and 1845 is the nearest approach to an actual illustration of the supposed case, since it exported food and imported other articles with practically complete Free Trade in existence between it and Great Britain. Yet, during that period, its population was rapidly increasing, and decline did not set in until the adoption of Free Trade in corn by England deprived it of the monopoly of the English market, and altered the nature of the commodities demanded.

To avoid misinterpretation, I ought to add that a sudden and rapid change from a policy of strict protection to one of pure Free Trade may cause considerable injury and loss—a proposition which is true of all great industrial changes—but I do not believe that free-traders, beginning with Adam Smith, have ever shut their eyes to the fact. If any have done so they have undoubtedly erred. Judging, however, by the course of events, it seems that the error is usually the other way, and that any loss inflicted by a too speedy adoption of commercial freedom is insignificant when compared with the evils which have been produced by restriction.

C. F. BASTABLE.

THE COMPLETION OF DR. HENRY'S *AENEIDEA*.

MANY of the readers of Dr. Henry's *Aeneidea* must have believed that the publication of that work had been finally abandoned, and have felt at a loss to account for the reason. That reason is easily given. The severe and protracted illness of the late Professor Davies of Galway, who, helped by Mr. Keenan of Trinity College Library, was the chief literary editor of the work, has been mainly the cause of the apparent abandonment of publication. During the latter years of his life Professor Davies was hardly able to do any work beyond that which the duties of his Chair peremptorily required. When he died at the beginning of this year, the *Aeneidea*, as far as the end of the seventh book, had been published; and the eighth and part of the ninth were already in type. Dr. Henry's executors, after losing Professor Davies' valuable services, arranged with Professor Palmer and myself to take up the editing of the remainder of the work, Mr. Keenan's constantly increasing toil in connexion with the Trinity College Library having compelled him to ask to be relieved of the labour of assisting in the editing, which he had done so admirably and so thoroughly. We do not expect to have succeeded in putting together Dr. Henry's MSS., veritable *folia sibyllae*, in the same admirable manner that Professor Davies and Mr. Keenan did; but we feel strongly convinced of the high value and striking originality of Dr. Henry's writings, and thought that the remainder of his *Aeneidea* ought not, from any reluctance on our part, to remain an unpaid debt to Virgilian scholars.

So we have taken up the work, and have arranged for press, to the best of our ability, the MS. of the remaining books (IX.-XII). The great difficulty of printing it (which our University Press can only accomplish slowly, owing both to the stress of its other business and the complicated nature of the MS.) and of revising the sheets will probably delay the completion for about a twelvemonth. We have, however, already just completed and published the third volume, bringing the work up to the close of the 9th book.

In order to recall to readers of HERMATHENA the kind of notes Dr. Henry used to write (if a reminder is necessary), we subjoin his note on X. 880, which, we think, shows Dr. Henry in his most characteristic style, that is, at his best.

L. C. PURSER.

X. 880.

NEC MORTEM HORREMUS NEC DIVUM PARCIMUS ULLI.

'Quasi dicat: omnes accuso et incuso; omnes dii mihi ex aequo hostes, nullum veneror, ut tu qui nuper Iovem invocasti et Apollinem. Desine haec ludicra deorum,' La Cerda.

Not the meaning, if it were only because such ostentatious profession of atheism is as little in harmony with the dignified character, and demeanour, and deep affliction of Mezentius, as it is little called for by anything Aeneas has said or done, and little required to explain anything which follows. Far be the gratuitous blasphemy from Mezentius, the blot from the finest episode of the *Aeneis*.

‘Ut ab eo auxilium expectemus;’ and again, ‘Parcere, pro vereri, metuere, adeoque omnino curare,’ Heyne; adopting, as it would seem, the notion of Servius: ‘Hoc ideo, quia Aeneas invocaverat deos, ut: sic pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo.’ [Servius has no more on the subject.]

Not the meaning, if it were only on account of the total inconsistency of such meaning with Mezentius’s very next word, *DESINE*, Aeneas being, not the more, but the less, likely *desinere*, in proportion as he is assured that he need fear no interposition of heaven in favour of Mezentius.

‘Nec tibi dei quos invocas quidquam profuerint mecum pugnanti. Proprie enim non ipsis diis, sed ei qui deos adiutores habet, parcur.’—Wagner (ed. Heyn. and 1861).

Not the meaning, if it were only because Mezentius is not threatening Aeneas, but answering Aeneas’s threats. *Quid me terres? iam venio moriturus.* What has the meaning—‘the gods whom you invoke will not be able to save you in the contest in which you are engaging with me’—to do with Mezentius’s coming, prepared to die; or with Mezentius’s forlorn hope, that before he dies himself he may inflict a mortal wound on his enemy—‘haec tibi porto dona prius’?

‘Kein gott soll mich abhalten, mit dir zu kämpfen,’ Süpfle.

Not the meaning, if it were only because the words of Mezentius, so understood, a fit and proper answer to the prayer, ‘May Jupiter and Apollo prevent you from attacking me,’ had been the most unfit and improper answer imaginable to the actual prayer of Aeneas, ‘May Jupiter and Apollo grant that you attack me.’ **What, then, is the meaning** of the words, if none of all these?

Let us see. *Parcere*, in its general sense, to spare in any manner, whether physically or morally, is very fre-

quently used in the special sense of sparing another morally, by not exposing one's self to physical danger, especially to the danger of death, Ovid, *Heroid.* 13. 65 (Laodamia to Protesilaus):

'Hectora, quisquis is est, si sum tibi cara, caveto :
signatum memori pectore nomen habe.
hunc ubi vitaris, alios vitare memento ;
et multos illic Hectoras esse puta :
et facito dicas, quoties pugnare parabis,
parcere me iussit Laodamia sibi.'

Ibid. 19. 203 (Hero to Leander):

'quidquid id est, timeo : nec tu mea somnia ride ;
nec nisi tranquillo brachia crede mari.
si tibi non parcis, dilectae parce puellae :
quae nunquam, nisi te sospite, sospes erit.'

Ibid. 7. 75 (Dido, beseeching Aeneas not to expose himself to the danger of the sea):

'nec mihi parcatur ; puero parcatur Iulo ;
te satis est titulum mortis habere meae.'

Stat. *Theb.* 9. 893 :

'nec tibi sollicitae saltem inter bella peperci.'

Sen. *Herc. fur.* 1246 (Amphitryon, beseeching Hercules not to kill himself, but live on, out of regard for his (Amphitryon's) age, which requires a protector):

'per sancta generis sacra, per ius nominis
utrumque nostri, sive me altorem vocas,
seu tu parentem, perque venerandos piis
canos, senectae parce desertae, precor,
annisque fessis : unicum lapsae domus
firmamen, unum lumen afflicto malis
temet reserva.'

Senec. *Thyest.* 1046 (Thyestes, having just discovered that he has eaten the flesh of his children, and about to kill himself):

. . . 'sustine, infelix, manum;
parcamus umbris.'

'Let me not, by killing myself, afflict the shades of the dead,' viz. his dead children.

Nor is it the Latin *parcere* alone which is used in this special sense; the Greek equivalent is used in the same manner. Compare *Epigr.* Diogenis, *Anthol. Palat.* 7. 706:

λιγγιασε Βακχον εκπιων χανδον
Χρυσιππος, ουδ' εφεισατο
ου της στοας, ουχ ης πατρας, ου της ψυχης,
αλλ' ηλθε δωμ' es Aιδew

['did not spare,' *i. e.* 'did not care for,' 'was not influenced by any regard for either the Stoa, or his country, or his life'].

If it be said: 'Very well; no one disputes the frequent use either of *parcere* or *φειδесθαι* in this sense, of morally sparing one's parent, or one's country, or one's sweetheart, or one's dear friend, or even the shade of one's deceased friend, by not exposing one's self to danger; but what has this sense to do with sparing the gods, who are neither our parents, nor our country, nor our sweethearts, nor our dear friends, nor shades of our deceased dear friends, but are removed from us by total disparity of nature, by the whole distance of heaven from earth?' I reply: **We**, indeed, do not regard our gods as standing to us in so near, close, and intimate a relationship, are accustomed to consider them as infinitely farther off, and as interesting themselves in our affairs rather generally than specially; as concerned, like so many kings, or emperors, less for the individual than the general weal.

But it was not so in **the heroic times**, not so with the poets. In the heroic times, and with the poets, the gods were (not, indeed, all, for they were too numerous, but one or more of them) always at the side of the individual, helping him, advising him, comforting him, admonishing him, reprimanding him; never, except in some rare case indeed, such as that of this very Mezentius (*contemptor deum*), deserting him, and leaving him entirely to himself. In proof of these assertions, it is unnecessary I should go so far as either the Minerva of Ulysses, or the Apollo of Orestes, or the Mars of Romulus, or the Egeria of Numa, or the *dæmon* of Socrates. There is scarcely in the whole course of our poem an event in which a god is not more or less concerned; scarcely in the whole course of our poem a misfortune of any of the principal actors which does not more or less nearly touch some divinity, in which some divinity does not more or less directly sympathize. Not only does Juturna cover up her head, and leap into the river, to avoid the sight of Turnus perishing, but Alcides himself weeps, and even Jupiter turns away his eyes, not to behold the death of Pallas. In Mezentius's case alone is there an exception. There is no god to take interest in him, to grieve at any calamity which may befall him, the contemner of the gods, '*contemptor deum*.' He has, therefore, on his part, no occasion to spare any god; no occasion to avoid death, in order not to cause pain to some befriending, sympathizing god, and this is precisely what he tells Aeneas in our text: 'Don't think to terrify me with the threat of death. I am not afraid to die, and I need not be chary of my life for the sake of any friendly god. There is none to be pained by my death, or to grieve after me. Cease to threat, therefore; I came here seeking death, and hoping first to inflict a mortal wound on you.' No declaration could be in more perfect keeping with the character of the man, who not only has

lived all his previous life in moral warfare with the gods, but is, besides, brave and fierce; of the king, who, on account of his cruelties, has been dethroned and expelled out of his country by his subjects; of the father, who is alive only because his son has just thrown himself between him and his adversary's sword, so as to receive in his own body the mortal wound. What more natural than for such a man, under such circumstances, wounded, too, by the same hand which has just slain his son, to reply to the menaces of that slayer of his son: 'Thy menaces are in vain. They might, indeed, have terrified me while my son lived: for so long as he lived I had something to lose. Thou hast deprived me of him, and I have nothing more to lose; thou nothing more to menace, nothing but my life, and that I come purposely to lose, selling it as dear as I can. For myself, personally, death has no horrors, and I am not under such obligations to the gods [compare Aesch. *Sept. advers. Theb.* 702 :

Eteocl. Θεοις μὲν ἤδη πῶς παρημελημέθα,
χαρὶς δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὀλομένων θανατίζεται.]

as to care whether any of them grieves for me or not? These latter words being added in conformity with the sentiment of antiquity, that while, on the one hand, it became a brave man not to be afraid to die, it became him, on the other hand, to be chary of his life for the sake of his country, friends, relatives, and tutelary gods. Mezentius having, since his expulsion from his kingdom, no country, and (as may be presumed) since the death of his son, no relatives, and having besides, either from his constitutional bravery, or his desperation, or from both causes together, no fear of death (*NEC MORTEM HORRE-MUS*), could, by possibility, have but one inducement to live on in his accumulated, utter, and hopeless misery, viz., unwillingness to be, by his voluntary death, the

cause of pain to some friendly divinity; but even this last inducement to live is wanting to Mezentius, too habitually contumacious towards heaven to have friends there, and too ferocious to care for giving them pain if he had. Hence his bitter and most touching *NEC DIVUM PARCIMUS ULLI*.

The following examples, while they prove, on the one hand, the existence among the ancients of the sentiment in question, viz., that it was the duty of a brave man not to cause pain to friendly gods by unnecessarily throwing away his life, prove, on the other, that *parcere deis* was the form in which the sentiment was usually expressed. Stat. *Theb.* 9. 812 (Diana to Parthenopaeus):

‘hactenus Ogygias satis infestasse catervas,
Parthenopaeae, satis. *miserae iam parce parenti,
parce deis quicunque favent,*

i.e. consider your mother, consider your befriending gods, what pain you will cost them if any accident befalls you. *Ibid.* 2. 686 (Minerva to Tydeus, dissuading him from fighting any longer, and exhorting him not to pain the gods, who love and favour him, viz. by incurring more hazards):

. . . ‘sate gente superbi
Oeneos, absentis cui dudum vincere Thebas
annuimus, iam pone modum, *nimumque secundis
parce deis.* Huic una fides optanda labori:
fortuna satis usus abi.’

So understood, the words *NEC DIVUM PARCIMUS ULLI* constitute a co-ordinate proposition in the strictest connexion with *NEC MORTEM HORREMUS*. ‘Personally I am not afraid of death, and I have no reason to be chary of my life in compliment to any of the gods. Cease, therefore, to threaten; I intend to die, but first will try to have revenge.’

Having seen already in what perfect harmony such sentiment is with the character and previous history of the speaker, let us now see how it accords with his particular circumstances at the moment. His son killed, and himself severely wounded by Aeneas, Mezentius has just returned to the field, to have his revenge and die. Aeneas, astonished, and hardly believing his eyes and ears, prays that it may be no mistake, and that Mezentius may really be come to measure lances with him again,

SIC PATER ILLE DEUM FACIAT, SIC ALTUS APOLLO,
INCIPIAS CONFERRE MANUM,

and advances menacingly towards him. 'No use in your menaces,' says Mezentius calmly. 'They might have terrified me while life was dear to me for my son's sake. Now that he is dead, I have but one wish—to revenge him, and die. I neither fear death, nor have patron god (patron saint it would be in the time of the Crusades) to grieve or offend by dying.' No sentiment could be more proper in the mouth of a brave man, seeking out a second time on the same field the enemy who had but a moment before killed his son and severely wounded himself; the enemy with whom it was still optional to him (he being mounted and his adversary on foot) to fight or not; the enemy over whom, owing to the same circumstance, viz. that he was mounted, while his adversary was on foot, he had still, notwithstanding his wound, some chance of victory. A moment later, when it was no longer optional to him whether he would fight or not, when he was thrown from his horse, and Aeneas stood over him with his sword at his throat, the sentiment had been improper, had been too late. The question was not then, as now, whether he would put his life into danger or not, whether he had or had not patron gods to grieve or offend by dying; the danger was come, imminent over him;

depended no longer on what hé might do, but on what Aeneas might do; and, accordingly, we have at vs. 901 neither

NEC MORTEM HORREMUS NEC DIVUM PARCIMUS ULLI,

but, instead,

NULLUM IN CAEDE NEFAS.

‘Use your right, the victor’s right. Do that to me which I would, if I could, have done to you.’ Plut. *Lysand.* 13 (of Philocles, when asked why he should not be put to death): Ο δε, ουδεν τι προς την συμφοραν ενδους, εκελευσε μη κατηγορειν ων ουδεις εστι δικαστης, αλλα νικωντα πραττειν απερ αν νικηθεις επασχεν. The same undaunted spirit, but no longer any question about his own action, only about the action of Aeneas.

The answer of Pallas to the menaces of Turnus, vs.

449:

‘aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis,
aut leto insigni; sorti pater aequus utrique est.
tolle minas,’

is as similar to Mezentius’s answer to the threats of Aeneas as the circumstances of the case permit: consisting, if I may so say, of different materials, it is cast in the same mould. Pallas does not inform Turnus that he is indifferent whether his death grieves the gods or not, for such a sentiment could have no place in the mind of an ingenuous youth, tenderly brought up, and who, never having suffered, had as yet no cause to complain of the dispensations of heaven, no ground of quarrel with the gods; but he tells Turnus that he may spare his threats (‘tolle minas,’ exactly Mezentius’s QUID TERRES? DESINE), inasmuch as he himself personally is prepared either to die honourably or to conquer gloriously (‘aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis

aut leto insigni,' corresponding, *pro re diversa*, with Mezentius's NEC MORTEM HORREMUS), and that he will not shun the risk out of consideration for the feelings of his parent, his parent also being prepared for either alternative ('sorti pater aequus utrique est,' where 'pater' occupies the place assigned to DIVUM ULLI in the reply of Mezentius to Aeneas). The total absence from modern warfare of this very sweet and touching sentiment of the ancient warrior, viz. that the gods are our friends [Xenoph. *Cyr.* 1. 6. 4 (ed. Hutch., p. 34), (Cyrus to Cambyzes): παννουν, εφη, ω πατερ, ως προς φιλους μοι τους θεους οντας ουτω διακειμαι], and therefore, like any other friends, painfully affected by our death, or other misfortune which may befall us, affords a satisfactory explanation of the total misunderstanding, nay, actual perversion, of the meaning of the passage by commentators. And a strange and unexpected denouement, indeed, it is, that the 'contemptor divum Mezentius,' regarded from our author's time down to the present as the very incarnation, especially in these his dying moments, of theoretical disbelief in heaven; so far from showing himself in his dying moments a disbeliever in heaven, so far from dying with a blasphemous defiance of heaven on his lips, dies not only declaring his belief in the sympathy of the gods with soldiers dying bravely on the field of battle, but even exhorting his enemy not to be deterred by any fear of the gods from killing him, for that neither he himself, in thus inviting death, nor his enemy, in killing him, could grieve, or offend those from whom he had lived in alienation (moral alienation) all his life (see above and Comm. 10. 743), and to whose sympathy he had, by so doing, forfeited all claim.

HIPPOLYTUS ON ST. MATTHEW XXIV. 15-22.

IN a Paper which appeared in the last number of HERMATHENA (vol. VI., pp. 397-418) I gave some extracts from the unpublished *Commentary* of Dionysius Barsalibi on the Apocalypse, being controversial passages which that writer professes to have derived from a treatise of Hippolytus—no doubt, his lost *Heads against Caius*. As a sequel to that Paper, I now offer another extract from the same *Commentary*, purporting to contain a summary of the interpretation of the passage, St. Matth. xxiv. 15-22, given by Hippolytus, apparently in some other of his writings which has not reached us.

It is as follows :—

[*And the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months—Rev. xi. 2.*] ‘(On this): The *city* is the Church; and these months they are to persecute her and kill, when the *false Christ* [St. Matth. xxiv. 24] shall come, because she worships him not. Now of this said Daniel, *He shall approve the covenant for many, one week; in the half of the week shall cease the sacrifice* [Dan. ix. 27]. *The half of the week*: that is, three years and a-half; and these make the *forty and two months* which are mentioned. The *sacrifice* he speaks of is not that of sheep, but the prayers of the upright. And the *holy city* he speaks of is the righteous, *i. e.* [those] who are *oppressed and trodden under foot by the horn that sprang up* in the midst [Dan. vii. 8, 20, 21, 25], which is Antichrist, as Daniel said. Hippolytus¹ otherwise interprets that which is said in the Gospel, *When indeed ye shall see the pollution of desolation* [St. Matth.

¹ [Margin] ‘*In the Gospel: write, In the interpretation of the Gospel.*’

xxiv. 15]: for he says that it is not concerning the Jews, and the laying waste of Jerusalem, that these things are said, but concerning the end of Antichrist. The *elect* [ib. 22] he speaks of are the Christians who are in this conflict. And He says, *Pray that ye fly not on the Sabbath or in winter* [ib. 20]: i. e. He advises that we be not overtaken by those things that are coming on us, when we are unoccupied in righteousness, as the Jews [are unoccupied] on the Sabbath, or troubled with worldly cares and sins, as one that is in a winter storm. *There shall be tribulation such as there was not like it since the beginning of the world*, etc. [ib. 21; cp. Dan. xii. 1]. On this Hippolytus says, that in the siege of Vespasian this did not come to pass; for nothing new happened to the world in his days beyond the things that were before. If you speak of war, many times it has happened in former times: and if again of captives, there have not lacked massacres or blood-shedding that was more than that [of the siege]. And if of the eating of children and unclean beasts, lo also in the days of Ahab¹ these things were [2 Kings, vi. 28]. Accordingly it is not concerning Jerusalem that the Lord said this; for when He willed to speak concerning her, He said, *When ye shall see the army compassing the city, know that the desolation thereof is nigh* [St. Luke, xxi. 20]. Hence the *pollution of devastations* He speaks of is Antichrist. And Daniel said, [*In*] *the half of the week standeth the abomination in the sanctuary* [Dan. ix. 27; cp. xi. 31]. Now Vespasian did not set up in the temple an idol, but that Legion² which Trajanus Quintus placed, a chief man of the Romans: he set up the idol there which is called Kôre.

¹ [Jehoram is of course meant].

² [This word (adopted into Syriac from the Latin, probably through the Greek λεγεών) seems to be used here in its secondary sense of an *evil spirit* or

demon, derived from the incident related by St. Mark, v. 9, St. Luke, viii. 30; in which sense it is found in Ephraim Syrus, iii. 115, 141 (Payne Smith's *Thes. Syr.*, s. v.)].

Also the Apostle has written that these things are concerning Antichrist, *Except if there come first a falling away, and the Man of iniquity be revealed, so that he as God shall sit in the temple, whom our Lord Jesus shall consume*, etc. [2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, 8]. From these [words] it is evident that Vespasian did not call himself *God*, nor did he *sit in the temple*, nor was he killed *by the Spirit of the Lord*. Accordingly it is manifest that in the end tribulation arises against the Church, *such as was none like it.*'

[*And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy, etc.—Rev. xi. 3.*] '(On this :) There come two prophets, Enoch and Elias, and these are *the two olive trees* he speaks of [ib. 4], even as Zacharias spoke of them [Zech. iv. 3, 11, 14]. Now concerning Elias our Lord said, *Elias must come to restore all things* [St. Mark, ix. 12; cp. St. Matth. xvii. 11]. Of these he says that they work miracles and signs, and send plagues upon the unbelieving [Rev. xi. 5, 6], in order that the faithful may have some respite. These two prophets will stand up against Antichrist, even as Moses and Aaron stood up against Pharaoh and the Egyptians. These things then are to be in *the half of the week*, when Antichrist will scatter all men, so that there shall not be found two or three together to assemble, to offer sacrifice to God. This then is to be fulfilled, that *the sacrifice shall cease*. When then these are killed there [ib. 7] by the *false Christ*, afterwards they are to *stand up*, in presence of many, and are to be *caught upon the clouds* to meet our Lord [ib. 11, 12; 1 Thess. iv. 17]. *In the half of the week*, said John, Enoch and Elias are to receive *power* [ib. 6], and are to *preach a thousand two hundred and threescore days girt with sackcloth* [ib. 3], and to teach repentance to the people and the Gentiles. These days are the *half of the week*; and these are *the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks* (ib. 4), as Zacharias said, Enoch and Elias. *And the beast that ascend-*

eth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies he shall cast into the streets, that is the highways, of the city [ib. 7, 8]. (On this :) Concerning this beast Daniel said, *I saw indeed a beast that came up out of the bottomless pit, that is, the sea* [Dan. vii. 3], and *made war with the saints* [ib. 21], which [beast] that *horn which sprang up* designates [ib. 8]. No other kingdom is to persecute the saints, save this alone from which *the horn is to spring up* at the last, which is Antichrist, who is to kill Enoch and Elias. And after these things that is to come to pass which Esaias said: *Behold the Lord out of His sanctuary sendeth forth His sword, great and strong, against the dragon, the crooked serpent* [Isaiah, xxvi. 21; xxvii. 1]: and in like manner said Daniel, *The beast was killed and destroyed, and his body was given to the burning fire* [Dan. vii. 11]. The *body* he speaks of is the devil, he who *worketh* [2 Thess. ii. 7, 9] in the *false Christ*: and the *city* he speaks of is Jerusalem, where these things are to come to pass. For Paul said concerning him who is Antichrist, *He sitteth in the temple of God as God.*¹

The foregoing extract, though continuously written in the MS. whence I take it, divides itself into two parts, the division being marked (as is usual in this MS.) by the sign x. It will be perceived that Hippolytus is cited by name in the

¹ I have to repeat here what I have said in my former Paper (HERMATH., vol. vi., p. 399, note †) that Barsalibi cites both Old and New Testament without regard to verbal accuracy. Hence the form in which many familiar texts appear in my rendering of this extract from his *Commentary*. In the New Testament texts he blends the Peshitto with the Harkleian version, and often deviates from both. In texts from the

Old Testament, I am now of opinion that when he deviates from the Peshitto he translates for himself from the LXX. I find no clear evidence that he used the Syro-Hexaplar at all: and in particular I regard it as certain that he was unacquainted with the Syro-Hexaplar Daniel, and the [so-called] LXX. version of that book (the Chisian), which the Syro-Hexaplar follows.

former of these parts only—that which relates to the second verse of Rev. xi. But (as I shall presently show) it is certain that in the latter part likewise the comment on the ten following verses (3-12) is in great measure drawn from Hippolytus. Besides, the line of interpretation that runs through both parts is continuous. For these reasons I have thought it well to give the whole. The *Commentary* has no further note on chapter xi., but passes on immediately to chapter xii.

On the second verse Barsalibi begins by explaining the 'treading underfoot' by the Gentiles of the 'holy city' during 'forty and two months' to mean that in the latter days of the world the Church shall suffer persecution for three years and a half, which period he identifies with the 'half-week' foretold by Daniel (ix. 27); and the 'sacrifice caused to cease in the midst of the week,' signifies accordingly the suppression of the public prayers of the Church by the tyranny of Antichrist, when she will refuse to worship him. And he is the 'little horn' of the fourth of the beasts of Daniel's vision, who is to 'prevail against the saints' (Dan. vii. 8, 21). For so far the *Commentary* appears to follow the teaching of Hippolytus in the treatise *De Christo et Antichristo* (Lagarde, pp. 1-36). In that treatise it is laid down, as in the *Commentary*, that the 'horn' is Antichrist (ss. 28, 47¹); that the half-week of Daniel is the same as the period defined in this eleventh chapter of the Revelation (ss. 43, 47, 61), and that its completion is to be the end of all things (*ib.*, & s. 64). But the discussion

¹ The Syriac ܐܢܬܝܢ, 'that sprang up' (p. 147, line 9), seems to represent the ἀναφύμενον, ἀναφύον, of Hippolytus in these passages. It is not from the Peshitto of Dan. vii., 8 or 20, nor does it render either the original Chaldee ܐܬܝܬܐ or Theodotion's τὸ ἀναβάν. The Chisian [LXX.] Daniel has ἀνεφύη, τὸ

προσφύεν: but throughout the *De Chr. et Antichr.* Hippolytus quotes exclusively, and at great length (*e. g.* ss. 19-22), from Theodotion's version, and it has been proved that he nowhere shows any knowledge of the other. (Salmon's *Introduction to the New Test.*, 3rd ed., p. 593.)

which is subjoined, cited as from Hippolytus, of our Lord's eschatological prediction, recorded in the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and of St. Paul's, in the second chapter of his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, is not (so far as I know) to be found in any of his extant writings—though in the *De Christo et Antichristo* (ss. 62, 63) he inserts several verses of both chapters (St. Matth. xxiv. 15-19, & 21; 2 Thess. ii. 1-12¹), similarly connected together. It is natural to suppose that the citation is from the lost *Commentary on Matthew*, which St. Jerome mentions in the *Prologue* to his own *Commentary* on that Gospel. Indeed, this appears to be directly attested by the MS. of Barsalibi in the marginal note (*quantum valeat*) attached to the name of Hippolytus, which says, 'In the *Commentary* on the Gospel.'² The words with which Barsalibi introduces this discussion ('Hippolytus *otherwise* interprets . . .') imply that he regarded it as in some measure inconsistent with the preceding interpretation of Rev. xi. 2, which (as I have shown) is drawn from, or at least coincides with, that contained in the *De Christo et Antichristo*. But it is not easy to see any real inconsistency between them; and it may be that he only means to point out that of Daniel's two representations of Antichrist—the 'little horn' and the 'abomination of desolation'—Hippolytus has fixed on the former in the *Treatise*, and on the latter in the *Commentary* (or whatever work of his is here borrowed from). It is to be noted that though the texts of Daniel and St. Matthew, which speak of the 'abomination of desolation,' are cited in the *De Christo et Antichristo* (s. 62), and its appearance reckoned among

¹ It is worth noting that in my extract (p. 148, line 32) Hippolytus seems to have read $\delta \kappa \nu \theta \rho \omega \nu \sigma \tau \eta \varsigma \alpha \nu \omicron \mu \iota \alpha \varsigma$ in 2 Thess. ii. 3 (with B, κ &c.); whereas in the *De Chr. et Antichr.* he cites that

verse with the common reading $\acute{\alpha} \mu \alpha \rho \tau \iota \alpha \varsigma$.

² This note, however, may perhaps be intended to be attached to the words 'in the Gospel'; and if so, they are probably to be regarded as

the signs of the end (64), it is nowhere in this *Treatise* identified with Antichrist.

I see no reason to doubt that we have here a genuine excerpt, probably in a condensed form, from a lost work of Hippolytus; though the identification of it as belonging to the *Commentary on Matthew* is but conjectural. It is of value as a clear and forcible summary of the reasons why the siege and destruction of Jerusalem under Vespasian cannot be regarded as adequately fulfilling the predictions of our Lord, or those of St. Paul, as we read them in the chapters referred to. It contains, moreover, an incidental statement which, if true, is an interesting addition to our knowledge of the history of the capture of the city. Josephus makes no mention of the setting up of an idol in the Temple, which Hippolytus here relates as the act of a Roman commander named Trajanus. But he mentions a Trajanus as being prefect of the tenth legion at the time when Jotapata was besieged (*B. J.*, bk. III., chh. vii. 31, viii. 8), who may be presumed to be the same person. And the name of the idol, Kôre, of course represents *Κορή*,¹ or Persephone, whose images, set up beside watersprings, were so familiar to Justin in the second century, probably in Palestine (*Apol.* I. 64).

In the remaining part of my extract—that in which the next ten verses of the Revelation are commented on—the relation of the *Commentary* of Barsalibî to Hippolytus is closer. Not only is the identification of the ‘two witnesses’ as Enoch and Elias common to both, but in the terms in which the mission of the witnesses is expressed there is a striking coincidence. St. John has merely said, ‘they shall prophesy,’ which the *Commentary* expands

only the attempt of a not very intelligent scribe to correct the text by substituting, ‘in the interpretation of the Gospel’ for those words. There is but one ms. available of this part of the *Commentary* (Rich, 7185). The

Bodleian copy (Or. 560) has lost the leaves which contained it.

¹ The short vowel of the penult of *Κορή* is no difficulty. So the name ‘Ρόδη is transliterated Rhôde in the Peshitto (Acts xii. 13).

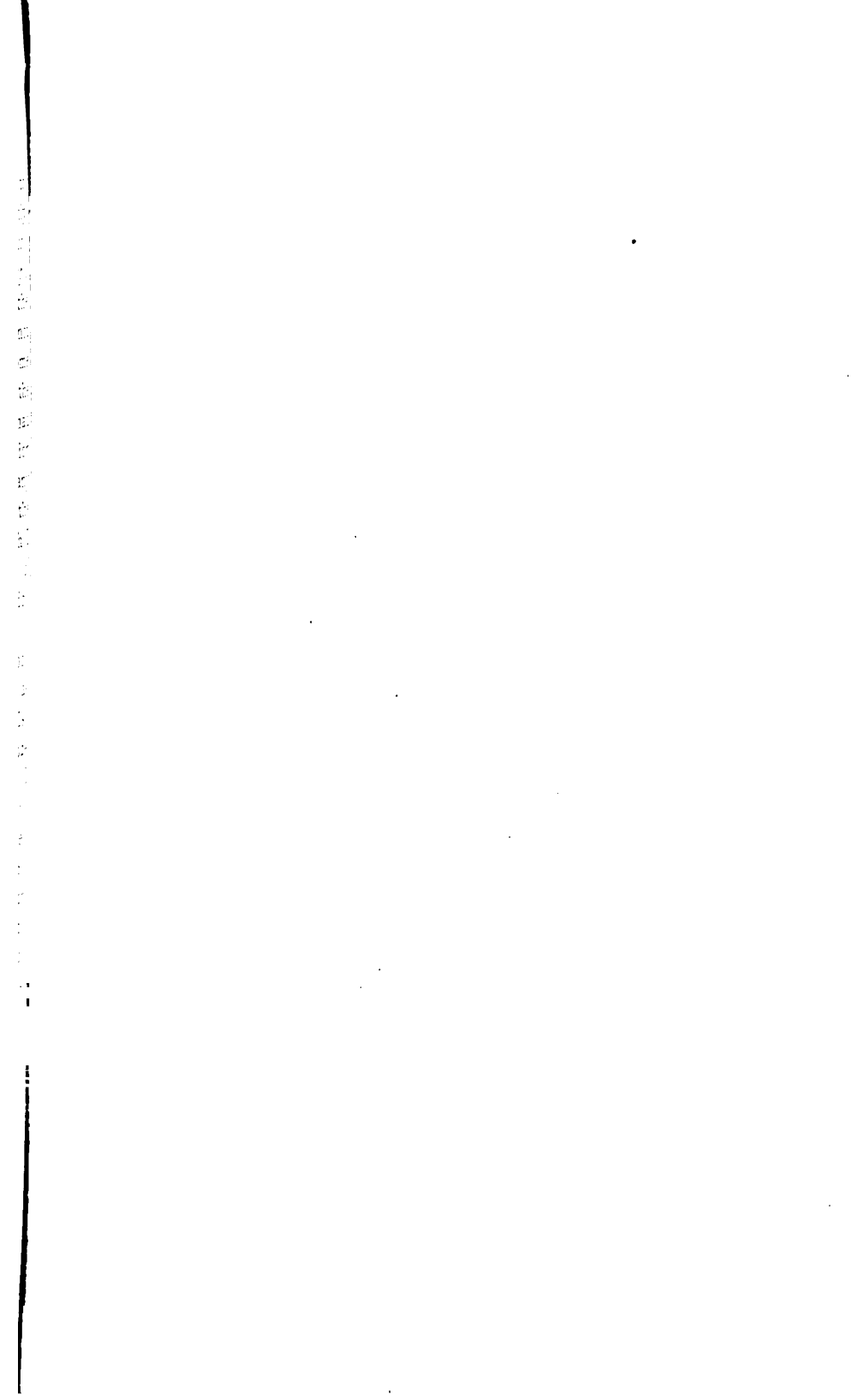
into, 'they are to preach . . . and to teach repentance to the people and the Gentiles.' This expansion is plainly derived from the words of the *De Christo et Antichristo*, 'They shall *preach* . . . proclaiming *repentance to the people and all the Gentiles*' (s. 43). There are, indeed, in the extract a few points which, so far as I am aware, are not to be found in any work of Hippolytus that has come down to us; for example, the curious explanation that the 'body of the beast' is the Devil. But that Barsalibi had the *De Christo et Antichristo* before him in the composition of his *Commentary* appears beyond question in many places. A conclusive instance is his comment on the latter verses of Rev. xiii., the greater part of which I find to be simply a translation, somewhat abridged, of the latter half of section 49 and the former half of section 50 of that treatise.

It may be well to note here that this mention of Enoch and Elias, and nearly all the other points above noted as connecting the *Commentary* with Hippolytus, appear also in the Homily *De Consummatione mundi* (Lagarde, pp. 92-123). But this Homily seems to be certainly spurious. I have inadvertently quoted it in my Paper in *Hermathena* xiv. (p. 418, suppl. note (1)), where I ought to have referred instead to the *De Christo et Antichristo*, s. 15 (Lagarde, p. 8).

I may add that a coincidence with the Hippolytean fragment V in that Paper, which I had overlooked, is to be found in the *Commentary on Proverbs*, printed by Mai (*Nova Patrum Biblioth.*, t. vii. ii. p. 74), which is not included in Lagarde's *Hippolytus*. It is the comment on Prov. xxx. 19: Οὐδὲ ὁ διάβολος ἐπὶ σῶμα Χριστοῦ ἁμαρτίαν ἡδυνήθη εὐρεῖν· λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος· ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ εὐρήσει οὐδέν. On this remarkable reading of St. John xiv. 30, see my note, *ib.* p. 417.¹

¹ I take this opportunity of correcting the error by which the name Ebediesu

is given as Ebediasa, *ib.* p. 399, line 1, and elsewhere.



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The accompanying autotype reproduces faithfully the mutilated first page of the MS. Rich 7185. The first eight lines contain the superscription (written in vermillion). Lines 1 and 2 are as follows: 'On God [relying] we delay not to write extracts from the interpretation of the Revelation of John, a small portion . . .' Of the six following I can only decipher a word here and there. Among them, however, I find 'Dionysius [Bishop of] the city Amid.' This identifies the author as Dionysius Barsalibi, who occupied that See from A.D. 1166 to 1171.¹ It appears, moreover, that in the MS. we have not his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* in full, but only a series of excerpts from it.

The remainder of the page (twenty lines in all) is

¹ This is stated by Gregory Barhebraeus in his *Chron. Eccl.* [Sect. 1., Coll. 543, 559; ed. Abbeloos & Lamy; see also Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.*, t. ii., pp. 208-211].

² The *Commentary* itself, being part of the 'accurate interpretations' on the New Testament ascribed to him by Barhebraeus (559 *ut supra*), was, no doubt, a work on the same scale as his very copious *Commentary on the Gospels*, of which many MSS. are extant. A catalogue, cited by Assemani (*ut supra*), mentions 'a great book of interpretation of the New [Testament], and of the Revelation of John the Apostle.'

In the Paper to which this is a sequel, I had called attention (p. 410, note j) to the peculiar arrangement of this *Commentary*, by which the Apocalypse is placed before the Acts and Epistles, and I had shown that such is the order of the Books in the only known example of a complete Syriac New Testament of any antiquity, the

Earl of Crawford's 'Syr. No. 2,' and also (probably) in Wetstein's MS., Amsterdam, before it was mutilated. From a monograph recently published by M. Samuel Berger (*Le Palimpseste de Fleury*, Paris, 1889), I have just learned the interesting fact (p. 12) that the fragments of the Paris palimpsests, 6400 G (Bibliothèque Nationale) prove on examination to belong to a volume which, in its original state, was arranged in the same remarkable order, containing—(1) the Apocalypse, (2) the Acts, (3) the Catholic Epistles. The MS. being of the sixth or seventh century, seems to be the earliest instance yet found of this arrangement, which (so far as I know) has not been observed in any other Latin MS., or in any Greek MS. whatever.

The Fragments of the old Latin version preserved in this version were for the first time published in a complete form by Belsheim, *Appendix Epp. Paul.* (Christiania, 1887).

written in black ink. The page is so mutilated that the opening words of every line of it are lost, except of the first four. Lines 9 and 10 appear to speak of the brevity of this *Commentary* as compared with the fuller one on the Gospel. Lines 11 and 12 ask the reader's prayers for Dionysius Xenaïas [?]. In line 13 begins the discussion of the authorship of the book. The substance of the remaining lines (14-28), mutilated as they are, may be made out to this effect:—'Many have denied that the Revelation is the work of John the Apostle. Eusebius of Cæsarea quotes [Diony]sius of Alexandria, who argues that it is written by some other John, because the style is unlike that of the Gospel, and because the writer [not as in the Gospel] gives his name, and claims to have received his revelation from the Lord. Irenæus and Hippolytus ascribe it to John the Evangelist, writing in the reign of Domitian: but [Eusebius] to John the Presbyter, contemporary of the Apostle.' [See Euseb. *H. E.* III. 39; VII. 25.]

[ON REV. XI. 2-12.]

إلا خلا سبلا : إلهيد بهلهه . . يقبا ضرا : خت بهلهنا
 بهتو دزا . . هافد : دجكه دلا لجرمى صعدا صعدا هه
 فكلر بكملا بهصملا ملى اكله دالتى خلب : حر امله 15
 حقيلا ملى ارمهلا ابر مة دلا صعدا . اة ملى عى
 صعدا دلا خلقنا صعدا ابر بهصمنا هه
 . . سوا اكلنا انا دلا سوا اكلنا ملى مهنا بكملا
 هه سوا اكلنا بهصمنا : سوا صعدا : اهل صعدا بهه
 لا اهل دلا . لا بهصملا بهلا بهف لخملا صعدا : خد 20
 ملى اكله بهفقت سوب . ا صرا افد انا : اكله قى
 بهف قاحلا قمنا . هلا لاه قحلا : لا انا به قحلا هانم
 بهلا دلا هف ملى هه . هلا اكلنا حقا هتتملا
 مقلا : سوا اكلنا صعدا : اكل سوب اكله . ملى كه خلا
 اهل ملى اكله ملى سوا . صرا دلا بكمنا بفلا اكله 25
 : اكلنا دلا سوا بهلا بهصملا : بهه بهت بهت
 . . ملى ملى : لا بهصمنا بهه ضرا . هه سوا اكله
 بهف : بهصمنا ملى صعدا : اهل صعدا :
 لا اكلنا صعدا هه . الا لى بهت بهه بهه
 بهه اكلنا اكل دلا : اكلنا ملى هه : ملى 30
 بهه . اكل ملى هه : خلا اكلنا بهه اكله

[illegible]

[illegible]

JOHN GWYNN.

25th June, 1889.

Reviews of Books.

ESSAYS IN BIBLICAL GREEK, by Edwin Hatch, M.A.,
D.D., Reader in Ecclesiastical History, Oxford, at
the Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. 293.

THIS volume is a most interesting and instructive contribution to a more accurate knowledge of the Septuagint and Greek Testament. The first part consists of a discussion of the use and value of the Septuagint in determining the meaning of words in Hellenistic Greek, with examples of such determinations. On this I shall offer a few remarks.

Dr. Hatch well observes that while, historically as well as philologically, the Septuagint is a translation from the Hebrew, yet philologically we may regard the Hebrew as a translation from the Greek—that is to say, we can make use of the Hebrew to determine the sense which the Greek words bore in the mind of the translators: for example, where a single Hebrew word is represented by two or more Greek words in repeated instances, we may infer either identity of meaning in these words, if the instances are furnished by the same translators, or if the translators are different, a close similarity. We are thus justified, he thinks, in inferring a close similarity of meaning between *λατρεύειν*, *λειτουργεῖν*, *δουλεύειν*; also between *δῶρον* and *θυσία*.

Sometimes, again, we find a small group of Hebrew words so corresponding to a group of Greek words, that

any one of the former is represented by any one of the latter, and it may be inferred that the latter are practically synonymous; e. g. *ἐξαρεῖν*, *ρύεσθαι*, *σώζειν*, *λυτροῦν*. The later translators, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and the two anonymous, give important contributions to such philological reasonings, either by their alteration of the older renderings or their apparent acquiescence in them—contributions the more important from the fact that these translators lived after New Testament times. Dr. Hatch lays down two canons as almost self-evident.

First—‘A word which is used uniformly, or with few and intelligible exceptions, as the translation of the same Hebrew word, must be held to have in Biblical Greek the same meaning as that Hebrew word.’ Secondly—‘Words which are used interchangeably as translations of the same Hebrew word, or group of cognate words, must be held to have in Biblical Greek an allied or virtually identical meaning.’

I am sorry to differ from Dr. Hatch, but I must regard the apparent self-evidence of these canons as fallacious. The first assumes that the view taken of the Hebrew word by the Greek translators is the same as that of modern lexicographers. This, we know, is not always the case. An example will be better than any amount of argument. The word *ὑποκριτής* is used, not indeed by the Septuagint, but by the later translators as the equivalent of a Hebrew word to which moderns assign the signification, ‘godless, impious, profane,’ not that of ‘hypocrite,’ and which the Septuagint translators had rendered by *ἀσεβής*, or a similar word. Dr. Hatch infers that early in the second century, and among Greek-speaking Jews, *ὑποκριτής* had come to connote positive badness, and he applies this view to the interpretation of passages in the Gospels. But another hypothesis is possible, namely that these translators connected the notion ‘hypocrite’ with the Hebrew word.

Indeed the very fact that they altered the older renderings ἀσεβής, etc., is a proof that they thought these were not accurate renderings, and that ὑποκριτής conveyed a different idea. But we have positive evidence that this is the correct account of the matter, in the fact that Talmudic writers used the Hebrew word in the sense of 'hypocrite.' Accordingly it is translated 'hypocrita' by Jerome, and 'hypocrite' in the Authorised Version, and this sense is given in the older Hebrew Lexicons as well as in some even now in use. There is, therefore, no reason for assigning a new meaning to the Greek word.

The occasional interchange of δικαιοσύνη and ἐλεημοσύνη finds its explanation in a fact of a similar kind. One of the Hebrew words rendered δικαιοσύνη came to mean in Jewish usage 'almsgiving.' There is, in itself, no improbability in the supposition that the Greek word was used in the same sense, especially as this would be not so much a change in the meaning of the word as in the view taken of what constituted 'righteousness.' But evidence of this is wanting. The instances cited by Dr. Hatch are easily explained as interpretations of the Hebrew, and the later translators have corrected the renderings, so as to remove all appearance of interchange of the two words mentioned. In consequence of this, Dr. Hatch suggests that the modification of meaning was a local peculiarity; but if so, why apply it to the interpretation of the N. T.? In Matth. vi. 1, indeed, δικαιοσύνη does at first sight seem = ἐλεημοσύνη, but a closer consideration shows that it is the genus, of which the latter (ver. 2) is a species. As to δῶρον and θυσία, it is true that both words are used to translate the Hebrew *minchah*, but by no means indifferently. With scarcely an exception, the former word is used where *minchah* is a gift or tribute to men; the latter where it is an offering to God. There is a similar difference in the English Version, which renders the word 'gift,' 'present,' 'offering,' 'meat-offer-

may be made of early quotations of the LXX. in ascertaining the original text. Examples are given of quotations, chiefly in Philo and Justin Martyr, which are critically discussed from this point of view. I shall only refer to one passage in which, it seems to me, Dr. Hatch has not been happy in his restoration. It is the famous verse in Gen. xlix. 10, where the English version reads 'until Shiloh come.' The Greek renderings are ψ ἀπόκειται (which Justin asserts to be the true LXX. reading); τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ; δ ἀπόκειται, with or without αὐτῷ; and in one MS. (Cod. 72), τὸ ἀποκείμενον αὐτῷ δ ἀπόκειται. Dr. Hatch explains these varieties by the hypothesis 'that the original version followed a common Hellenistic idiom in reading ψ τὸ ἀποκείμενον (τὰ ἀποκείμενα) αὐτῷ, and that δ ἀπόκειται was a gloss or alternative translation for τὸ ἀποκείμενον, which found its way into the text. Hence the readings δ ἀπόκειται αὐτῷ and δ ἀπόκειται come from an earlier reading, ψ δ ἀπόκειται αὐτῷ.' This hypothesis he thinks is supported by the conflated reading quoted from Cod. 72. Now, the suggested reading is, I think, impossible. No doubt, ψ ἀπόκειται αὐτῷ would be a common Hellenistic idiom (if a definite antecedent preceded, which is not the case here); but ψ τὸ ἀποκείμενον αὐτῷ is very different, and only explicable by supposing ἀποκείμενον to be the subject of a verb understood, which is not possible here, as ἀποκείμενον is itself supplied. Moreover, τὸ ἀποκείμενον = δ ἀπόκειται includes the rendering of the Hebrew relative, and we should thus have the relative translated twice. ψ δ ἀπόκειται αὐτῷ is impossible, except as a blunder. The only readings to be considered are ψ ἀπόκειται and τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ. The former is probably the original, not only because we have Justin's testimony to this, but also for two internal reasons: first, because it is less correct grammatically, and therefore more likely to have been altered by the later translator; and secondly, because it is more Messianic. δ ἀπόκειται is

a copyist's blunder for ω , as the context shows it to be in Justin, *Apol.*, p. 64, and in Chrys., *Homil.* 66, in *Genesis* (some copies). $\delta \alpha \pi \acute{o} \kappa \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \iota \alpha \upsilon \tau \omega$ is doubtless an attempt at correcting this.

The problem discussed in this essay was discussed with reference to the text of Isaiah by Stroth, in Eichhorn's *Reperlorium*, vols. 2, 3, 6 and 13. In vol. 3 of the same is a discussion of the Greek text of Gen. xlix. by Grabe.

There is an interesting essay on Origen's Revision of the LXX. text of Job, which discusses an important question. The original LXX. text of Job was much shorter than that which is found in existing MSS., many passages being absent which were present in the Hebrew, and which Origen supplied from Theodotion's version. The asterisks with which Origen marked these additions are preserved in two Greek MSS., in two Latin MSS., and in the Syro-Hexaplar. Lately also a Sahidic version of the text as it existed before Origen has been found in a MS. in the Museum Borgianum at Rome. These several sources of evidence agree in the main. Dr. Hatch examines the obelized passages, and adopts, as the most probable explanation of the facts, the hypothesis that the additional matter in Theodotion is a translation of additions made to the Hebrew text subsequently to the formation of the Septuagint Version. As an example of the omissions I may mention (leaving the reader to refer to it) the following verses in the eulogy of Wisdom, ch. xxviii., 14-19.

The hypothesis requires a more careful study than can be given to it in the present Paper.

T. K. ABBOTT.

A LATIN DICTIONARY FOR SCHOOLS, by Charlton T. Lewis, Ph. D.

THIS school lexicon is, as we read in the Preface, an original compilation, not an abridgement of any larger work. It is designed to explain 'every word or phrase in Latin books commonly read in schools, including the entire works of Terence, Cæsar, Cicero, Livy, Nepos, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Phædrus and Curtius, the Catilina and Jugurtha of Sallust, and the Germania and Agricola of Tacitus.' 'A few words found in such extracts of Florus, Eutropius, and Justinus, as are sometimes included in elementary readers have been added.' The compiler has strictly confined himself within these limits; hence (he says), his book is 'not a Dictionary of the Latin language.' Now, to judge a work fairly, we must take it for what it is announced by its author to be, nor should we complain because it is not something different. Yet it is disappointing to find that Dr. Lewis has excluded words which may be current in each or all of Plautus, Lucretius, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, the Histories and Annals of Tacitus, Martial, and other great Latin writers—words which, though not found in the pages of the twelve or thirteen authors selected, are part of the ordinary Latin language of the best period, and familiar to every scholar. Doubtless Dr. Lewis adapted his lexicon in the first instance to the needs of American schools, but he surely did not write for them alone. We venture to think that he meant to consult also the interest of the English schoolboy: yet his book by no means explains all the Latin authors commonly read in the schools of the United Kingdom. The twelve models of Latin chosen by him are indeed of palmary importance; but to draw the line at

them so sharply as he has done greatly impairs the general usefulness of the lexicon. Boys in the higher forms or preparing to enter the University would find it insufficient. Our disappointment at this insufficiency is the more keen when we observe the many excellences of the work before us. For we are glad to be able to say that Dr. Lewis's lexicon has in a high degree attained the 'minute accuracy and correspondence with the ripest scholarship, which are its aims.' But the defect we have noticed is fundamental. High-class teachers will hardly recommend to their pupils a dictionary which declares itself useless for readers of Plautus and Lucretius.

As regards proper names and matters of archæology and geography, the lexicon seems all that could be fairly desired. A feature in it which calls for the warmest recognition is the orthography, in which the compiler has uniformly followed the teaching of Brambach. While the labial spirant, or so-called consonantal *u*, is still marked by *v*, the palatal spirant is no longer represented by the *j* which to English-speaking people so long obscured the true sound of the Latin letter. The practical convenience of retaining *v* does not extend to *j*, and this letter has been therefore discarded.

Another novel feature in Dr. Lewis's lexicon is that he marks no quantities save those of vowels long by nature. Of this we shall have more to say in the sequel. But we are glad to see natural length recognised in a school lexicon as belonging to certain vowels also long by position. Schoolboys will have reason to thank Dr. Lewis for helping to rid them of the opinion that, e. g. *infensus* was pronounced like *intentus*. There has been a great liability on the part of young students to suppose that when position occurs natural lengthening becomes of little account, if it does not entirely cease. Those who have read Cicero's Orator (§ 159) are aware that certain posi-

tions have the effect of even imparting natural length to a vowel. Our ears, trained to accent rather than quantity, do not easily catch such nice distinctions of pronunciation. But those who know that the periods of Cicero and the hexameters of Virgil had at least one charm for the Romans which they can scarcely be said to have for us, will not underrate recent efforts to reveal 'hidden quantities,' and give life to Latin in a respect in which, even to scholars, it has been hitherto a dead tongue. Not the least thank-worthy feature in Dr. Lewis's lexicon is, that it will serve to extend the benefit of such researches.

Regarding the etymological part of his work we can scarcely speak in terms of unmixed praise. We have grave doubts as to the utility (to schoolboys at least) of the columns of roots contained in the last pages of the book. In these columns each root has its derivatives grouped under it, and the grouping is generally correct. Even where objections may be raised, Dr. Lewis will be found fortified by the authority of some distinguished etymologist. Nor could more than this alert recognition of authority be demanded of a school-lexicographer. But these columns, superfluous to advanced scholars, are most unattractive to schoolboys. The beginner is presented with a number of derivatives seemingly huddled together under a root which scarcely resembles them in any way, and which professes to be itself something which never had an independent existence, and can therefore not be said to have had a meaning. The difficulty attending the study of roots is one which the beginner, for the most part, solves in a way of his own. He neglects them altogether, at least in cases where not even an inkling is given him of the regular sound changes or phonetic principles upon which etymology is based. With a true conception of etymology, intelligent interest in it is possible even for a schoolboy: without such a concep-

tion it were almost better if he neglected the study altogether. Indeed a case might be stated for omitting etymology in school lexicons, on the ground that the principles of the science can nowhere be introduced to the reader's notice. If this were literally true, the case would be fully made out. But there is one place where a lexicon—even for schools—can deal with phonetic laws. In the alphabetic articles a brief summary can be given of the principles regulating each letter-sound. The schoolboy should be taught to refer to these as to a convenient store of elementary phonetic facts, enabling him to make some real progress within the domain of scientific etymology. Accordingly, Liddell and Scott, Lewis and Short, and Dr. Ingram in Smith's Smaller Latin-English Dictionary, have articles dealing with the several letters, in which this idea has been to a considerable extent worked out. What has Dr. Lewis done? He has written no alphabetic articles at all. Now we will not dwell upon the other considerations in the light of which this omission is to be regretted—though to it we may trace the want of many explanations not found in Lewis which a school lexicon ought to give—*e. g.* of the symbol *M* (as generally written) = *mille*, or of *C* = *centum*, of *M'* = *Manius*, &c.—but will only remark that it has the effect of leaving the etymology of this lexicon acephalous, unsystematic, and therefore incapable of engendering intelligent interest. For the author will not maintain that a mere list of roots, with their derivatives grouped under them, but with no clue to the true relation between root and derivative, or between the derivatives themselves, could in any degree promote the study of etymology as a science. And the alphabetic characters furnish a subject so interesting and so manifestly important to lexicographers, that we choose to ascribe the want of separate articles upon them, not to set purpose, but to some strange oversight on the part of Dr. Lewis.

The exegesis of the lexicon is, as was to be expected, rich in illustrations and quotations from the authors with whom it deals. Construction, meaning, and shades of meaning, are nearly always stated with a fulness and accuracy which deserve the highest praise. After premising this we may proceed to point out a few instances of defective exegesis.

Adapertile.] This is not given, though occurring in Ovid *Tr.* III. ii. 45.

Caelum.] Here we read parenthetically, 'no plur. caeli, orum, *m.* only late Latin.' *Caelos* is found in Lucretius II. 1097, although in a peculiar sense. This being the fact, why should it be said that *caeli* is only found in late Latin? The statement is not true, and into it our author was, no doubt, misled by his resolution to ignore Lucretius. Smith's small dictionary states the truth briefly and accurately, so far as is possible without going into details, as to the plural of *caelum*.

Disiuncte.] The comparative of this word, occurring in Cic. *Phil.* II. 32, is explained by Lewis (as also by Lewis and Short) to mean 'separately,' 'without connexion.' This is, of course, wrong. Here, too, Smith's school lexicon is right.

Nolo.] Though this is parenthetically analysed into *ne-volo*, yet we should expect more assistance for a schoolboy who might come upon the word *nevolt* in Cicero, quoting as he often does (e. g. *De Nat. Deor.* I. 6) from old poets.

Ora.] Under this reference is made to '*oras evoluite belli*,' Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 528, where *oras* is rendered by Dr. Lewis 'the scenes of the war.' This slurs the metaphor. Conington, Papillon, and others rightly say that Virgil imitated a line of Ennius, in which the latter must have had in his mind the idea of unrolling a *volumen*. Smith's smaller Latin dictionary rightly translates, 'unroll the (borders of the) mighty scroll.'

Per-.] The intensive sense of this in composition (as *pervelle*, *perucunde*, &c.), though common in Cicero, is quite ignored in the article upon the word. The compounds with *per-* in this sense are, however, given and explained in their alphabetic places.

Quin.] The meaning and constructions of this word are given in a full article, but one important point is neglected, viz. that *quin* with subjunct. must be preceded by a neg. expressed or implied. Lewis and Short also have failed to state this rule fully, not alluding to it until the 2nd sub-division of art. QUIN, pt. II., where we are told '*quin* with subj. occurs especially after words expressing hesitation (usually with neg.)' The parenthesis does not convey the whole truth, nor guard against an error which teachers know to be very common. But even this parenthetic hint is not found in Lewis. Smith's small lexicon is right here also.

Sibilo.] This word is said, in reference to Cic., *ad Att.* II. 19, 2, to be transitive, and Lewis and Short give the same account of it. Of course *homines* is subject there, not object. How the mistake arose we are at a loss to understand. See Professor Palmer on Hor., *Satt.* I. i. 66. Smith's school lexicon avoids this traditional blunder, referring for the transitive use only to Horace, *l. c.* We have not the space necessary for an exhaustive examination of this part of Dr. Lewis's lexicon. The instances given may serve as specimens, not indeed of the explanations in general—this would be most unfair—but of those which seem to be defective.

We have already referred in words of praise to Dr. Lewis's innovation as regards marking quantities. Something remains to be said on the opposite side. In the first issue of a large book perhaps complete typographical accuracy is impossible. We have noticed the following errors (a good many of which have been noticed by Dr. Ingram, in

an article on Lewis and Short's lexicon in HERMATHENA)—*natalicius*, *latericius*, *gentilicius*, *aediticius*, *febricula*, *siler*, *praesfigiae*. All these slips, except *febricula*, are found in L. & S. None of them occur in Smith's school lexicon. There are some other errors of this kind in Lewis which seem more than mere slips: e.g. *nātrix*, *nātriciis* (also noticed by Dr. Ingram in the article above referred to), the genitive of which is given even by Vanicek as *nātriciis*, though both vowels seem to be short (at least if L. Müller be right in reading *si natibus natricem impressit crassam et capitatam*—Lucil. II., 21—as a hexameter); *ergō*, stated to be late and rare, though found in Ovid, *Her.* 5, 59, *Tr.* I. 1, 87, and exceedingly frequent in, e.g. Juvenal, who has *ergō* only twice (*Satt.* III. 281, ix. 82); *fērālia* without noticing *Fērālia* of Ovid, *Fasti*, II. 569—a line which Lewis quotes; *līquidus*, without regard to the *līquidus* of Lucretius. This last leads us to remark that variable quantities are scarcely provided for in this school lexicon. We do not refer to variation arising from position, but to such words as *rūdo līquidus*, &c. As it is part of the scholar's business to know of these variations, so it is unquestionably the duty of a lexicographer to indicate them. But Dr. Lewis, marking none except naturally long syllables, does not use the familiar $\bar{\cdot}$, and his rigid adherence to his twelve authors prevents him from referring to any outside them. Again, the notation *oblivio*, *multiō*, *spadō*, *transeō*, &c., though up to a certain point correct, is but a halting statement of the metrical value of these and similar words. It may be said that students should consult special treatises upon the variation in the metrical value of final *o*. Perhaps so, but Dr. Lewis's mode of indicating it is quite inadequate, which is the more striking as he says in his preface that he has paid special attention to final syllables. Better with Smith to write *transēo*, *nescio*, &c.—however crudely this may represent the metrical facts—than with

Lewis, *transeō*, *nesciō*, &c., which, if supposed (as they would naturally be in this book) to represent invariable *ō*, convey positively false teaching, likely to give the student trouble in the future.

Having already spoken of Dr. Lewis's methods of presenting the subject of etymology, we can here only add a few criticisms in detail.

Hic.] On this we read 'R. I. (stem *ho-*, *ha-*, cf. *δ*, *η*)'—a large amount of error in few words. Lewis himself, while giving under \sqrt{i} its true derivatives, *is*, &c., rightly omits *hic*, which is, as Vaniček says, probably from original \sqrt{Gha} . Nor should *ho-* *ha-* be compared with *δ* *η*, the spiritus asper in the latter words having arisen from *s* (cf. Sanskrit *sa sā*). Indeed Lat. *h* never corresponds with the Greek spiritus asper.

Hortor.] In this, with which Lewis compares *δρυνμι*, Lat. *h* seems again to be misunderstood. Unless we are to suppose that the cockneyism which Catullus satirised in Hionius, &c., was at work also in *hortor*—needless to say an utterly worthless supposition—the implication in Lewis's comparison is that *h* in *hortor* arose from nothing. For *δρυνμι* cannot be traced to a root that lost initial *Gh*, or even *Dh* or *Bh*, and some such derivation would be necessary to account for the *h* of *hortor*. The Greek word corresponds of course to *orior*. Those who desire a scientific account of *hortor* (about which, however, there is no certainty) may look at Vaniček, p. 402.

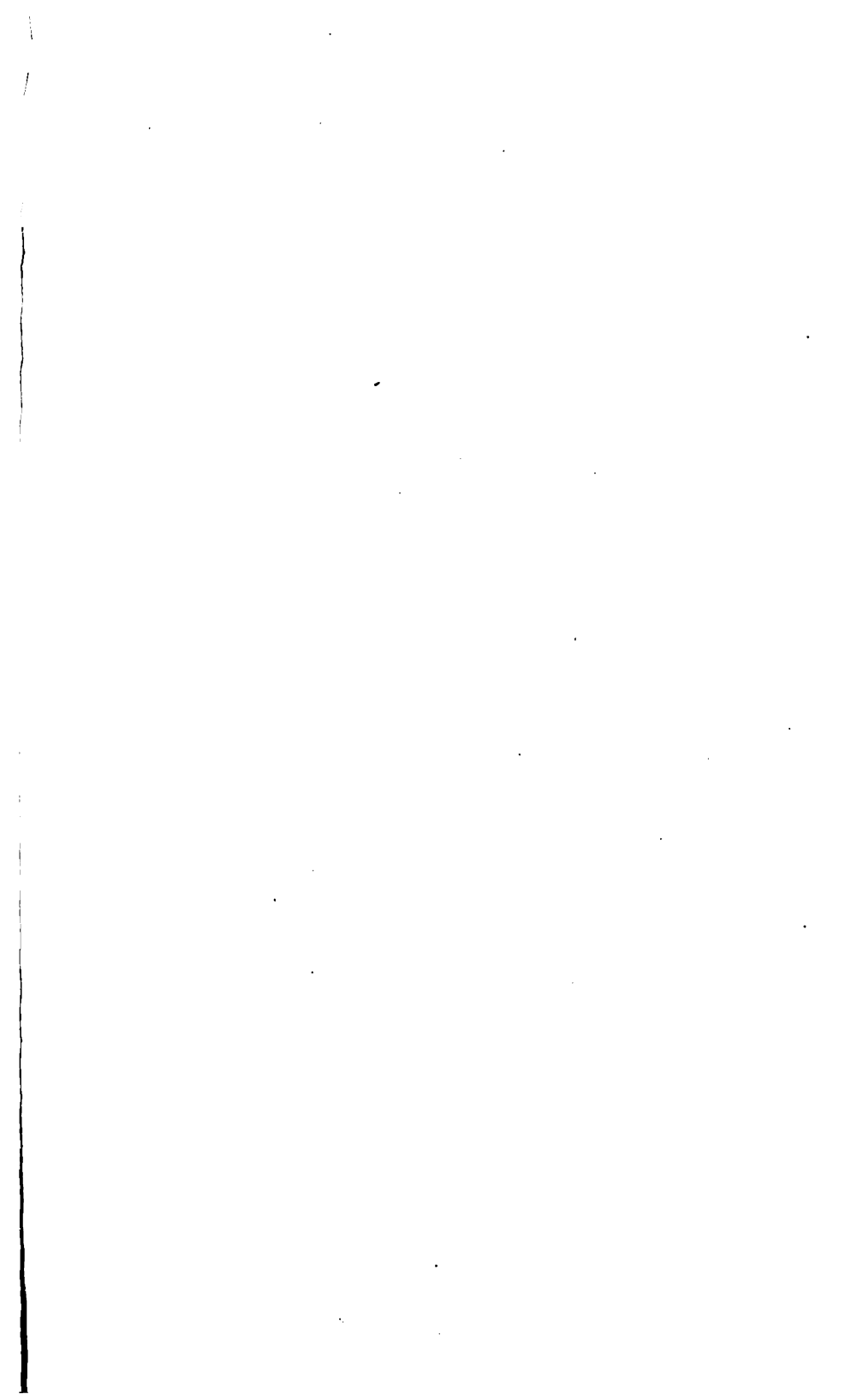
Lars.] Under this we read 'R. Las-, cf. lord.' Lord is generally regarded by the best authorities as a compound word (see Skeat), which has nothing to do with the root that explains English and German *lust*.

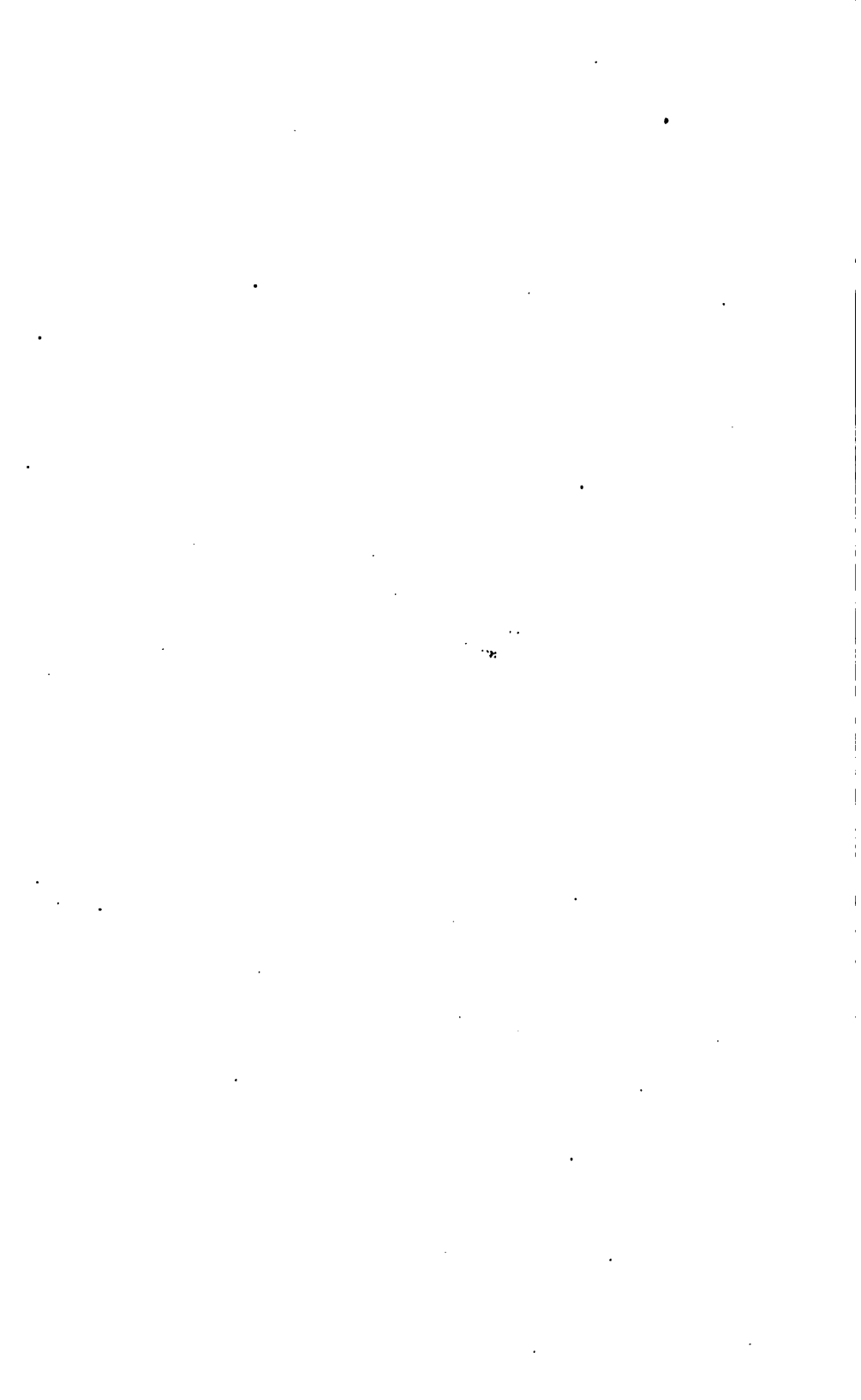
We might easily extend this list of criticisms, but we will not do so. It is impossible to say how far such blemishes arose from haste, &c.; we cannot believe them due to ignorance. For where such slips occur in the body of the

lexicon, the columns in the appendix nearly always serve to correct them. We only observe that the errors may easily do mischief, for a beginner will receive them unquestioningly, and not seek to check them by reference to any standard. As regards the columns themselves, of which we have already so often spoken, one word more may be said. Under \sqrt{am} , love, we read that it was originally \sqrt{cam} , whence, perhaps, *carus*.' This is a hard saying, though the method of the etymologist is apparent; but when we are in the next breath asked to compare Engl. *caress*, all method seems to disappear. For how does this comparison help us here? 'Caress'—French *caresse*, low Latin *caritia*, from *carus*—only brings us back to the question which was to be solved. Such a comparison is, on such a question, little better than trifling. The Romance languages (to which *caress* practically belongs) have light for the etymologist, and comparisons drawn from them are, when rightly used, very instructive. But they do not help us much when investigating the roots of Latin, their parent tongue.

On the whole this school lexicon, however great its merits, does not, we think, deserve to supersede the best of those previously used by English schoolboys. And as we have at sufficient length endeavoured to explain the grounds of our opinion, we shall only say in conclusion that, except for its narrowness of range, we see no faults in the book that may not be easily amended in succeeding editions.

J. I. BEARE.





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HERMATHENA.

THE SLAVE WARS AGAINST ROME.

WHEN the subjugation of the Western world had been completed by the sacks of Corinth and of Carthage, and the subjugation of Spain and of Liguria was only a matter of time and energy, we find the next Greek disturbance in Hellenistic lands to be the curious and dreadful slave insurrections, which we know in some detail from the fragments of Diodorus (p. 526 *sq.*, p. 600). As they began immediately after the so-called pacification of the world in 146 B. C. it is hard not to suspect some direct connection, for the first slave war seems to have broken out in 141 B. C., and to have lasted eight or nine years. The outbreak in Sicily was synchronous with outbreaks in Delos—a great slave market—in Attica, and elsewhere, but these latter were put down by prompt and wholesale executions, while the former required formal campaigns, and entailed upon the Roman armies formal defeats. There were three separate wars which must be carefully distinguished: the first, which began, as I have said, 141 B. C., and was not allayed till 132 by Rupilius; the second, which began in 102 and was ended by Aquilius in 99; the third, the war of Spartacus, of somewhat different character, and wholly in Italy, arose in 73 and was ended in 71 B. C. by the well-known Crassus.

I. Let us for the present confine ourselves to *the first war*. We are told that most of the island of Sicily was now held by Roman knights in large properties, or *latifundia*, but that the insurrection broke out owing to the cruelties of one Damophilus, evidently a Sicilian Greek, who imitated the Roman capitalists in cruelty. The numbers of the slaves who engaged in this war were out of all proportion greater than those that appear in any Italian insurrection of the same kind,¹ and this calls our attention to a distinction between Sicilian and Italian *latifundia*, which is not noticed by the historians. The land and climate of Sicily being admirably adapted for wheat caused that island to become one of the granaries of Rome, while the *latifundia* of Italy, colder and more mountainous, were chiefly pasture.² We hear indeed many complaints that the growing of cereal crops was well-nigh abandoned in Italy. Of course the number of slaves required for managing pasture was small, whereas we must conceive great droves of them, housed in such *masserie* as we now see in Calabria, working the tillage of the corn-plains of Sicily. This is the first reason why the insurrection in Sicily assumed such terrible proportions as compared with those of Italy.

But there is a second feature of peculiar interest : all its leaders are described as either Cilicians or Syrians—that

¹ I shall discuss the apparent exception of Spartacus in its place.

² It is indeed to be inferred from Varro, *de re rust.* ii. 2, § 10, that the proportion of shepherds or neat-herds required in Italian pastures at that time was far higher than we should think necessary. Bücher (*Aufstände der Arbeiter*, &c., p. 43) attributes this to the extravagance of slave labour, which is never so economical or conscientious as that of freemen. But there are many other causes. In the first place we

never hear of the trained dogs which save such a quantity of shepherds' work in Scotland and Ireland. Secondly, the insecurity of the country, both from the wild beasts and from the lawless classes, was far greater, and necessitated more constant watching. Varro computes that you should have a shepherd for each 80–100 sheep ; two mounted men for a herd of fifty horses. Still the hands required for tilling wheat were probably twenty-fold for the same area.

is Greeks from these countries. The first leader was Eunus, a Syrian of Apamea, and his wife was from the same city. When successful he took the name of Antiochus, of the royal Syrian house, and called his followers Syrians. His fellow-insurgent was Cleon, a Cilician, accustomed from his youth to piracy or highway robbery. They were ultimately betrayed by Sarapion, a Syrian, and the only other prominent rebel is Achæus, who, though called an Achæan by Diodorus, was much more probably from Eastern Asia Minor or Syria, where the name Achæus is well known as a royal name. The whole insurrection was therefore in the hands of Syrians and Cilicians, old subjects of the Seleucids, who sought to establish a sovereignty and royal style in Sicily, so much so that Cleon submitted at once to the superior claims of Eunus, though Cleon died, fighting bravely, while the pretended king proved a coward, and was taken alive in a cave with his cook, his baker, his shampooer, and his jester, who used to amuse him at his wine.

Here again is another feature common to all the slave-revolts. Some sort of soothsaying or clairvoyance was always claimed by the leaders. Eunus even breathed flames from his mouth, by means of a process described by Diodorus.

The problem which is set the historian is to show how this great and peculiar war arose out of the circumstances of the age, and how in particular the Syrians chanced to be in such extraordinary numbers in Sicily at this time, seeing that most assuredly a vast number of Macedonian, Epirot, and Greek citizens had been sold as slaves during the events leading up to the year 146, as well as after that great crisis.

In the first place we know that the whole method of growing wheat on a large scale in vast farms worked by slaves was due to the Carthaginians. When the Romans

extended their dominions, and Roman landowners began to replace the yeoman population, the Senate had the work of Mago on agriculture translated, and recommended its use (B.C. 144). We can still see from the references to it in Varro's book, *de re rustica*, that this was the source of all scientific farming. It was in this way that the Carthaginian capitalists made North Africa the granary of Europe.³ From Carthage they imported the system to Sicily, so far as they possessed it, but the constant struggles with the Greeks, and afterwards with the Romans, made its general application throughout the island then impossible. It was very different when the dominion passed into Roman hands, especially after the second Punic War. Still we hear of no slave outbreaks till a later period, when I assume that the destruction of Carthage (146 B.C.) threw into the market a vast number of farming slaves, which were naturally bought in droves by the Roman capitalists in Sicily, for very low prices, and transported very cheaply across the narrow sea that separates the island from Carthage. There must therefore have been a sudden and great influx of slaves from Africa to Sicily just before the date of the first Slave War.

But whence did the Carthaginian capitalists procure them? There were great slave markets at Delos and perhaps at Corinth; there had been great occasional slave sales at the close of the war with Perseus, the devastation of Epirus, &c., where many thousands of both freemen and slaves were sold as Roman booty. There is no evidence that the Carthaginians frequented these markets. I conjecture that during this period Carthage was anxiously seeking to avoid all offence, all display of wealth, all competition of any kind which could irritate the jealous and unjust Romans. They must have been keeping all their

³ Mommsen, R. G. i. p. 497.

prosperity as far as possible in the background. Hence I believe they would not compete with Romans in the slave markets of Greece and Asia Minor.⁴

But there had been for centuries a direct connection with Tyre and Sidon by a southern sea route beyond the ordinary Greek and Roman navigation—probably going from Malta direct past Crete and Cyprus. By this means Carthage could procure from Cilicia and Syria a supply of slaves which never came into the Greek markets. Syria had been unusually disturbed since the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in 164 B.C. Claimants and counter-claimants had arisen, and civil wars were prevalent; more especially about the year 150 Tryphon and his ward were in insurrection against Demetrius Soter, and Tryphon had made the Cilician piratical nests his stronghold, and obtained their support for his claims.⁵ So then there must have been both slave hunting and ample sales of booty to supply an enormous number of slaves, which were most probably sent direct to Carthage.

When that city was conquered and razed, these unfortunate people may have hoped for some better treatment than to work under a semi-tropical sun in chained gangs. They may even have hoped for liberty. But they found themselves consigned, if possible, to a worse and more hopeless fate. The Roman capitalist was probably far harsher and more cruel than the Carthaginian. So it came to pass that within four or five years after the sack of Carthage, and the sale of all the African farming slaves, whose very training made them especially valuable to the Sicilian magnate, these unhappy creatures found their condition

⁴ I don't think this inference is contradicted by the Tyrians being so numerous at Delos as to build there a temple to the Tyrian Heracles (Melkart). For the prudent Tyrians were sure to stand

aloof from their western brethren, who were seriously in the way of Roman trade.

⁵ Strabo says this expressly, pp. 668-9.

intolerable, and at the same time feeling that the common bond of Syrian Hellenism united them—they had almost all been subjects of the great Seleucid monarchy—they made their revolt under this banner, and assumed this very natural title.

II. A careful study of *the second or great slave war*, as narrated to us by Diodorus (p. 530 sq.), discloses many new features which distinguish it from the first, though the superficial likenesses are such that modern historians have treated them as exactly parallel.

In the first place the Romans were engaged in a mortal struggle with the Cimbri; they had lost several armies, and Italy was in serious danger. Consequently we find it quite natural that small local disturbances and insurrections among the most hardly treated slaves should have taken place here and there in Italy, by way of prelude to the greater outbreak in Sicily. But, as I explained already, these lesser outbreaks in Italy show the difference in the character of the slavery. There were no masses of slaves needed in a country now absorbed by large pastures. Hence the numbers—30 at Nuceria, 200 at Capua, and the 700 who followed the Roman Titus Vettius, a bankrupt and a desperado, were mere handfuls, of no direct danger to the State, though a very serious symptom.⁶

But as the crisis with the Cimbri was approaching, and Marius was in need of soldiers, his application for auxiliaries to the various subject states brought out this tragic answer from Nicomedes of Bithynia, that he was unable to comply with the Senate's request, seeing that most of his

⁶ We have no details concerning the dangerous insurrection of the Attic slaves at Laurium, who long held and devastated the country (Posidonius apud Athen. vi. p. 272); but it is more than likely that the mines were now worked by Roman capitalists, who treated their

slaves much as they treated them in Sicily. It is even likely that this insurrection was synchronous, not with the Second, but the First slave war, as it is an addition by Athenæus to his authority, which refers it to the Second. If so, the greater cruelty of the Romans

subjects had already been sold out of their country as slaves by the Roman tax-gatherers. There is perhaps no single fact recorded from this generation which shows us more clearly the burden of Rome's domination over the Hellenistic world, even though we may suspect that Nicomedes snatched the opportunity to put his grievous complaint in the form of an effective retort, or *argumentum ad hominem*, which the Romans could not overlook.

Of course the Senate did not care a straw what became of the Bithynians, but here was a result which was certain to bring back burdens upon their own mob of idle and luxurious citizens. For the theory was fast growing up that the dominant people should not only live on their subjects, but fight battles with armies of subjects. What was the good of being a free Roman citizen, entitled to gifts of money and corn in the city, if you were obliged to submit to the slavery of military discipline, and fight campaigns against wretched barbarians and slaves too poor to afford any adequate return of plunder? All the nations worth plundering had already been conquered.

So the Senate, in real alarm lest the supply of provincial auxiliaries should fail, and the republic be obliged to fight her own battles with her own citizens, issued a very ill-considered order that no free citizen of any free allied state should be kept in slavery in any of their provinces. It is more than likely that the Senate, as a body, had no idea of the particular acts of oppression and violence which were now being perpetrated all over the Hellenistic world by Roman citizens. They probably kept up an appearance

must have had an almost immediate effect, though here indeed they only copied the habits of the Athenians (cf. Plut. *Nicias*, 4). But the numbers of the slaves, and probably their common nationality, made this revolt

very serious. Thus at Chios there were many Colchian slaves to whom Mithridates handed over their masters, bound, to carry home with them to Colchis, when he invaded the province of Asia.

of decency at Rome, and what went on abroad was not talked about when people came back to the capital. There is a similar reticence now-a-days among the dominant classes of the West who rule subject provinces in remote parts of the world. Few people who have not lived beyond the bounds of England and France know what goes on in Asia, Africa, and the far islands, where the civilized man rules subject races with despotic sway.⁷

This decree of the Senate first produced its effect in Sicily; yet I see no evidence that the body of the Sicilian slaves were now Bithynians or even Asiatics. Eight-hundred were liberated on the spot, but then the panic of the slaveholders, and the pressure they brought upon the prætor Lic. Nerva were such, that he stayed his hand, and ordered the increasing crowd of claimants back to their masters. Hence of course a new and dangerous insurrection. But though the new leaders have this in common with the leaders in the first slave war (thirty years earlier), that they are each described (except the first, Oarios) as soothsayers or prophets—this seems to be still the test which made the slaves prefer one of their number to the rest—the names of most of them (*e.g.* Oarios, Salvius), are now non-Greek. The ablest of them, Athenio, Satyrus, are indeed such, and Salvius was dubbed Tryphon by his subjects, the name assumed by a Syrian king⁸ who had risen from a subject station to the Syrian throne in former days. But I cannot regard this as at all parallel to the assumption of the title Antiochus by the leader of the earlier slave war. For, in the first

⁷ In making this remark I suppose I ought to apologise to the learned persons who, in reviewing my last book, were so severe to me for daring to illustrate Greek and Roman history by modern parallels. To assert that the Home Rule Question appears in Polybius, and that the Indian or Algerian

official has some likeness to the Roman *prætor* or *publicanus* in his everyday treatment of the natives, is to mix modern politics with ancient history, a new and heinous offence in the Crimes Act drawn up by the 'pure scholars.'

⁸ So Appian says, *Syr.* 68.

place, Tryphon, the Syrian king, was now thirty-seven years dead: numerous kings had since come and gone; and I cannot believe that the circumstance of his rising from a private⁹ station to the throne can have been so salient in the minds of the slaves of the war 102 B.C.—a new generation, even had they been freemen, but being ill-used slaves, probably a generation with hardly a single contemporary of Tryphon now surviving,

My conviction that the present application of the name was merely a nickname is strengthened by the circumstance that Salvius, who was no doubt an Italian, assumed *not Syrian but Roman state*, when he established himself in his capital at Triocala. According to Diodorus (p. 535), he selected, not peers, but a senate of elders to advise him, and though he assumed the non-Roman title of king, he wore the *laticlave* on state occasions, and his attendants were lictors with rods and axes. His general and successor Athenio was indeed a Cilician, and moreover a man of unusual ability and unselfishness, who submitted to a weaker rival for the sake of the common cause. He seems also to have had really Hellenistic traditions about him, for he fought at the head of the cavalry he had organized, like one of the old Diadochi, and thus met the Roman General Aquillius in personal conflict. The Roman conquered, probably with the aid of his personal staff, but not without a dangerous wound, and had Athenio survived, the prospect would indeed have been serious. For Diodorus tells us that the poorer free population now made common

⁹ Appian calls him *a slave of the kings*, and so does Mommsen. But Diodorus says ἐξ ἰδιώτου βασιλεὺς γεγενῆσθαι, which is certainly inconsistent with his being a slave, whereas the prince's tutor, and a member of the household, might easily be called δοῦλος τῶν βασιλέων. All the texts (except the passage

from Appian) are cited by Clinton, *Fasti* iii., pp. 322-4. The point in favour of Tryphon being remembered so long is, that according to Strabo (p. 668) this king had close and special relation to Cilicia, using Coracesium as a starting-point for his usurpation.

cause with the slaves, so that it was not merely a war of slaves against freemen, but of the poor and oppressed against the capitalists, and the armies of the State which supported them.

The tragic conclusion of this rising furnishes me with another argument that the body of the Sicilian slaves were now no longer Syrians. The last thousand were brought with their leader Satyrus to fight with wild beasts at Rome; but they refused to be butchered to make a Roman holiday, and slew one another deliberately at the public altars, Satyrus remaining last, and then slaying himself. This brave leader was no doubt of Hellenistic blood, but whoever the rest were, they were assuredly not that *patientissimum genus hominum*¹⁰ the Greek Syrians. Cilicians, Gauls, Thracians, even pure Greeks had often shown this determination for suicide;¹¹ the Syrians, I think, never.

III. The mention of this disappointed gladiatorial show leads me to consider the third outbreak of slaves which took place in Italy a generation later, and was, as I have already intimated, of a wholly different character. Our authority here is no longer Diodorus, but Plutarch, who, most fortunately for us, is led to describe *the war of Spartacus* in his *Life of Crassus*. The difference between Italian and Sicilian slavery again comes out plainly. The bodies of slaves who now revolted were specially gladiators, not agricultural labourers, and they were kept together in crowds for the purpose of training. They were mostly, says Plutarch (*Crassus* 8), Celts (*Galatæ*) and Thracians, and were particularly dangerous because they were trained duellists, and therefore more than a match, man for man, for ordinary soldiers. Their leader, Spartacus, is described as a nomad Thracian, perhaps from beyond the Danube, but of high qualities both of

¹⁰ Plautus, *Trin.* II. 4, 42.

¹¹ Cf. my *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 541.

head and heart, far better than his lot, and more Hellenic than his race. But here again we have in his wife the prophetic and orgiastic character, which seems indispensable to the leaders in these insurrections. There were Germans also among his followers, who would have their own way, and by following a separate policy ruined the common cause. He never mistook his powers, and far from pretending, like the Sicilian slaves, to set up a kingdom in Roman territory, he only desired to fight his way home, and restore his Celts and Thracians to their country. But the majority were debauched with the plunder of Italy, and preferred a short and merry life to their native wilds, if indeed they were not deceived by their successes to hope for a lasting supremacy. As might be expected, we do not hear of any large number of slaves joining them. Throughout Campania many shepherds and herds, turbulent and swift of foot, joined them, but they only armed some, and used the rest for scouts. We do not hear of any Hellenistic leaders of importance. The only men not of northern extraction whose names we know were Caius Canicius and Castus, insurgents from Spartacus himself. How remote he stood from the earlier revolts is shown by the fact that he could not force a passage to Sicily, when he desired to send a detachment to that island, and start another slave war. There were Cilician pirate vessels at hand, whose captains made a bargain with him, took his money, and then sailed away.

IV. This story, coupled with the desire of the better part of the gladiators to return to their homes, leads us to inquire *why there is no trace of any similar attempt in either of the Sicilian slave wars*. Many of the slaves were Cilicians, and there were Cilician pirate vessels in plenty cruising about the coasts.

Why did the Syrian and Cilician multitude never attempt to utilise this means of escape? We are here

again left to conjectures. It may have been the one law essential to the success of piracy in those days, that the man-stealer should abide by his bargain, when he had sold his captive. If the pirates had coasted along Italy and Sicily to re-kidnap the men they had sold, I suppose they would have lost all their profitable business. Even the most dishonest and immoral professions must observe certain conditions, and be proof against certain temptations, if they are to make any reasonable business profits. For this cause therefore the sea may have been closed to the Sicilian slaves. It may also have been closed by some large bribe, direct or indirect, from Rome. Seeing that almost all the eastern seas were occupied by the very men who had brought the slaves from Tyre and Sidon to Carthage and to Sicily, it is also likely that there was such deadly enmity between these slaves and these pirates, that the latter could not undertake to carry such dangerous passengers. The very men they had kidnapped and sold might be found among those returning free and armed to their homes. How then could the pirate escape vengeance ?

Another possibility is, that the Cilicians, if not the Syrians, were accustomed to the existence of permanent robber bands in their nests, which lived on occasional raids, but usually on black mail. The Sicilian slaves may have hoped to come to some such informal settlement with the careless and lethargic Roman power. A curious parallel to this sort of thing, which has in our day existed in Asia Minor (about Sardis), in Sicily (near Palermo), and elsewhere, is found in the story told by Athenæus (vi. p. 265-6) of a certain Drimacus, who in the wealthy and slave-holding island of Chios took to the mountains, and lived many years as an accredited bandit, respecting and helping the poor, saving ill-treated slaves, but protecting property which had paid him black-mail. He reminds us strongly of the Italian brigand in the Neapolitan moun-

tains of our century, though he seems to have lived in the second century B. C. Here is the story :—

‘ Nymphodorus, the Syracusan, in his *Periplus of Asia*, tells as follows :—The slaves of the Chians run away from them into the mountains and thence in bands plunder their farms. For the island is rough and wooded. But the Chians themselves tell the story, that a little before my time a certain household slave ran away to the mountains and dwelt there, who was a courageous fellow and versed in military affairs, so that he commanded the other fugitives like a king commanding an army. And when the Chians had often made expeditions against him which did not avail them, and this Drimacus (such was his name) saw them losing their lives in vain, he speaks to the Chians in this wise : “ O Chians and masters, what is now happening to you from your slaves will never cease ; for how could it, seeing that it happens according to an oracle from the god ? but if you will make a truce with me, and allow me to remain in peace, I shall be to you the author of much good.” So when they agreed to this, and made a truce for a certain time, he establishes for himself weights and measures and a special seal. These he showed to the Chians, and said : Whatever I take from any of you, I shall do it by these weights and measures, and when I have taken enough I shall leave your store-rooms sealed up with this seal. Those also of your slaves who ran away I shall examine as to the cause, and if they shall seem to me to have done so from suffering intolerable cruelty I shall keep them with me ; but if they have no proper excuse I shall send them back to their masters. So the rest of the slaves, seeing the Chians readily acquiescing in this, were far less apt to run away, as they feared his judgments. Those also who were with him feared him far more than they did their masters, and obeyed him strictly as they would a general. For he punished the disorderly, and allowed no one to plunder a

farm or do any wrong without his consent. He used to go to the country feasts, and take from the farms wine and fat cattle which the masters would give him, and if he caught anyone laying traps for him, he took vengeance upon him.

‘At last the city proclaimed a large bounty to anyone who would either take him alive or bring his head; and Drimacus being now old, brought the youth he loved aside, and said: “I have loved you above all men, and you are to me a son and everything else. I have lived long enough, but you are young and in the prime of life. What then? You ought to become a gentleman. Since, therefore, the city offers freedom and fortune to him that slays me, you must cut off my head, and bring it to Chios, where you will live happily on the proceeds.” After some demur the youth did so. And the Chians being again robbed and plundered by their slaves, remembered the consideration of him that was dead, and made a shrine to him over his tomb called that of the “friendly hero.” Here runaway slaves still offer a tithe of all their plunder. He often appears to the Chians in dreams, and warns them of the plots of their slaves. Those to whom he appears also offer at his shrine.’

The above-mentioned causes, together with this practical illustration, are, I think, adequate to explain the curious fact I have brought out. But whatever the [explanation may be, the fact remains. We may be sure that the Syrian towns would have taken no trouble about the matter, even had they not feared offending Rome. The return even of free exiles to any Hellenistic city was a source of civil disturbance and bloodshed. The rights of the absentees were gone; their property had passed into other hands; they came back to claim what nobody was willing to resign. If, therefore, the plunder and rapine of Italy seemed more attractive to most of the gladiators than the

forests and the cold of Germany and Thrace, perhaps the plunder of all the luxury of Sicily seemed better to the slaves than the restoration, after many years to their estranged and unwilling country. Nor must we forget the fierce delight of trampling upon their cruel and relentless masters, of devastating the wealth acquired from their own blood and tears, of wreaking vengeance of the most triumphant kind upon those who had tortured them and crushed their honour in the dust.

V. Before leaving the subject, a word may be said concerning *the war with Aristonicus in Asia Minor*, almost contemporary with the first slave war, and possessing many curious analogies to it. The last Attalus (III.), described as a cultivated man but a brutal tyrant, died in 133 B. C., and forthwith a will was brought to Rome, which purported to be the king's will bequeathing the kingdom of Pergamum to the Roman people. Whether the king really made it out of spite against his people, or whether the document was forged, or whether (as I fancy) he was induced by bribes and influences of wealthy Romans in Asia to make it, will ever remain uncertain.

However, when this will became known, a natural son of the previous king (Eumenes II.), called Aristonicus, set up the national standard on the coast at a village called Leucæ, and called his people to arms. The Greek coast cities at once took the side of Rome, and repulsed him from their walls; but when he went inland he found great support, and with the aid of Thracian mercenaries, he formed an army consisting of *slaves and poor men*, who flocked to his standard, so as to be a match for all the surrounding dynasts. In fact he defeated both them and the first Roman general sent against him. We are told that he called his followers Heliopolitans,¹² as if belonging to some

¹² This title suggests to historians that Aristonicus wished to found a city like Heliopolis at the sources of the Orontes, where the worship of the single Sungod

new foundation he had made, or intended to make.¹³ The war which he carried on for two years, and with some great successes, shows that in Asia Minor too there must have been considerable slave agriculture, and that here, as in the second Sicilian war, the poorer classes felt their interests at one with those of the slaves. The few facts given us by Strabo (xiv. 1, § 38) suggest that even before the death of Attalus III. Roman capitalists had reduced a section of the poorer population to slavery, and were practising the pursuit of wealth with a cruelty which led to such dreadful consequences in Sicily.

Adad should replace that of the other gods, as a symbol that the poor and oppressed were one people, united by common hatred of their oppressors (cf. Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 106). And this is to be brought into relation to the prophet-king Eunus, who may have regarded himself, and been regarded by others, as a sort of Messiah, who was

to purge the world of oppression and wrong, and set up a kingdom of liberty and peace. It is quite possible that these ideas had come from Persia, both through returned Jews, and through the influence of the Parthians (cf. the interesting suggestions of Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 78 *sqq.*)

¹³ Mommsen, R. G. ii. 53.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

OWEN'S 'TRISTIA'.

WHATEVER uncertainty may be thought to attach to the *Ibis* of Ovid—a problem by no means yet sufficiently discussed—there can be no doubt as to the authorship of the *Tristia*. The title seems to be alluded to by Statius, S. I. 2, 252, *sqq.*:

*hunc ipse Coe plaudente Philetas
Callimachusque senex, Umbroque Propertius antro,
Ambissent laudare diem nec tristis in ipsis
Naso Tomis, divesque foco lucente Tibullus,*

and one verse from the first book (I. I, 2) is cited in the metrical treatise which goes under the name of Atilius Fortunatianus, *Gramm. Lat.* VI. p. 291, Keil: *habet enim prima pars duos pedes et syllabam partem orationis finientem, secunda item similiter diuisa, prima sic 'hei mihi cum domino' secunda 'non licet ire tuo.'* This, however, seems to be the only certain citation from the work in the Latin Grammarians. This neglect, which the *Tristia* shares in common with the *Ibis* and the *Pontic Epistles*, is attributable partly to the inferior character of the work as poetry, partly, perhaps, to the hazardous nature of its main argument, the mysterious, and still unexplained, exile of the poet. But we have a rarer and a more interesting attestation of its genuineness in an inscription, to which Ehwald has recently called attention, Gruter 637. 5. In this, which records the completion of a monument by one L. Valerius Aries, freedman of a certain slave merchant called Zabda,

the two vv., *Trist.* I. xi. 11, 12, are thus quoted—

SEV . STVPOR . EST . HVIC . STVDIO . SIVE EST . INSANIA .

NOMEN

OMNIS . AB . HAC . CVRA . CVRA . LEVATA . MEA . EST

where the MSS. of Ovid give

*Seu stupor huic studio sive est insania nomen,
Omnis ab hac cura mens releuata mea est.*

To compensate for the paucity of references to the *Tristia* in the early grammarians and writers on the language of Rome (there are no citations in Nonius, Macrobius, Isidorus, or even in those Ovid-lovers the two Senecas) must be set the numerous quotations from them in the Middle Age. Mr. Owen has printed a considerable number of these in his *Prolegomena*; but they might be increased indefinitely. Many years ago I noted down in my copy of Merkel's edition of 1837 some of these; but the labour of collecting them is far greater than the advantage resulting; for they are not seldom cited from memory, and have the natural incorrectness of such citation.

Mr. Owen, who in 1885 published a small edition of the first book with a commentary, has now given us a complete recension of the text. It is written in Latin, and contains, in addition to the main body of the work, *Prolegomena* of an extensive and, from their thoroughness, most interesting kind. These are divided into eight chapters:—(1) on the title of the work; (2) the MSS.; (3) their relation to each other; (4) the early editions; (5) the deflorations, or MSS. containing excerpts; (6) the different recensions; (7) a discussion of certain disputed passages, in which the editor states his own view; (8) the orthography of certain words. After the text and *Apparatus Criticus* are added two chapters:—(1) containing the most

plausible conjectures of critics on corrupt passages ; (2) parallels in other writers.

The *Tristia*, unlike the *Pontic Epistles*, are not preserved in any MS. earlier than the eleventh century : not that this can be said to make any very appreciable difference ; for the fragments in uncial writing of Cent. VI. or VII. of the *Pontic Epistles*, discovered by C. P. Ch. Schönemann in the inner side of the binding of an edition of Nicolas de Lyra's *Moralia*, and, by the help of chemicals, re-deciphered, after the removal of the palimpsest superscriptions in Lombard characters, amount to only seventeen complete lines, with parts of five more, an inconsiderable proportion of the whole work. Yet we should be glad to have anything as old of the *Tristia* ; were it merely to be able to compare a MS. of the sixth or seventh century with one of the eleventh. In the Pontic fragments the divergences of the older MS. are very instructive ; and who can fail to recall the tenth century tradition of the sixty-second poem of Catullus, as preserved in the *Codex Thuanæus* with the later and more corrupt version of the fourteenth and fifteenth century MSS. ?

But though chance has here baffled us, we have in the Marcianus (*L*) a MS. of the first excellence, in those parts where it is still preserved. It is only of late years that its value has been ascertained. The first detailed account of it was given some few years back (in 1881) by Kunz in his elaborate edition of the *de medicamine faciei*. Its cardinal importance, however, had been recognized by Tank in his treatise *de Tristibus Ovidii recensendis* in 1879, a work on which Mr. Owen's is to some extent based. In that treatise Tank, while showing the imperfections of the collation of *L* made for Riese by five friends, could yet only appeal to a partial collation made for himself by Wilamowitz. It was not till an Oxford editor took the matter in hand that the task was at last thoroughly accomplished. Mr. Owen

undertook to collate it at Florence for himself in 1884, and published his collation of Book I. in the small edition of 1885.

In the present volume we have the whole of the MS., not only the portions written in the eleventh century (I. 5, 11, to III. 7, 1, and IV. 1, 12 to IV. 7, 5), but the more recent parts which were substituted at a much later period for the lost original. The older hand of the eleventh century Mr. Owen calls *L*, the more recent *λ*. Two whole folios, containing 398 verses, are entirely lost. The MS. is therefore very imperfect, which is much to be deplored, as it holds an unique position, and no other codex yet discovered is so free from interpolation.

Next to *L*, Tank classed four MSS., at Wolfenbüttel (*G*), in the Vatican (*V*), another Vatican, Palat. 910 (*P*), and a fourth, of which Poliziano copied the readings into an edition now in the Bodleian (*A*). The history of Mr. Owen's discovery of this precious volume (*Proleg.* pp. xiii-xv.) is one of the most interesting episodes of his researches. Poliziano has entered in this volume the variants of *two* MSS.—one of an earlier date (*A*); the second of a later, called by our editor *δ*.

Of equal value with any of these four (*G*, *V*, *P*, *A*) Mr. Owen ranks a codex in Lord Leicester's library at Holkham (*H*). This MS. was used by me for the *Ibis*, and I have besides collated it in the *Amores*.

These five MSS. supplement *L*, and form with it one and the best class. A comparison of the five with *L* makes it probable that they were derived from an archetype which presented with the text a variety of glosses and notes, while *L* may derive from an original which was without any such additaments.

There are thus six codices on which the text of the *Tristia* may be said to rest in the first degree. But there are occasionally verses in which *none* of them has preserved

the right reading. In such cases we are reduced to the second class of codices. This includes a large number, mostly of the thirteenth century, which can only be roughly grouped, yet of which some are distinctly more reliable than others. Mr. Owen ranks Leiden 177 (*K*) as perhaps the best, mainly from its frequent agreement with *L*. Next a Gotha codex (*D*); then a group of eight, of which I signalize *O*, the Bodleian Canonici 1 (which I have examined for the *Amores* and *Metamorphoses*), and *T*, the Turonensis of Tours, which was one of my chief authorities in constituting the text of the *Ibis*.

Other MSS., besides excerpts, and early editions, have been examined; the whole number, as will be apparent, being thus very great, and the apparatus criticus much beyond that of any former edition, not excepting Heinsius' or Merkel's of 1837.

It will be clear from what has been stated that Mr. Owen is not an adherent of that school of philologists who preach salvation from *one MS. and one only*. It is possible that some critics will think he has erred on the counter-side; and that though the theory of *one MS. and one only* is very rarely *even a possibility*, an apparatus of thirty-nine exceeds the due measure. To such doubters I would say, read through the book, and then form your judgment; but do not expect us, that task our eyes and bodies to make out the truth, to join you in your easy-going creed. I will illustrate the case from the *Ibis*. Two MSS. of this poem are, on the whole, earlier and better than the others; but a critical edition which should attempt to base itself on these alone would be wrong in a hundred particulars; and these particulars are correctly or approximately contained in other, later, and, on the whole, less trustworthy MSS. A little reflection, indeed, will show how improbable it is that the 'one MS. theory' should be in any large sense true. Take up a MS. containing many works of the same

author, written by the same hand and at the same time ; such as the Tours' *Ovid*. You find it excellent in the *Ibis*. Is it equally good in the *Tristia* or *Heroides* ? By no means. Yet how many would be prepared to say, *a priori*, that it must be. It is only by the most searching examination, the most careful comparison with other MSS., the most balanced judgment as to the probabilities of the author's general style being overpowered by abnormal deviations in particular passages or works, that the critic can even *approach* a certain conclusion. For this reason it is that Heinsius' *Ovid* can never be out of date ; because it is unlikely that in *any* work of Ovid's a single MS. will be of such paramount pre-eminence as to make it possible to throw over all the others. The conclusion, then, which the study of MSS. arrives at is, that the 'one-MS. theory'¹ is most useful as a point to aim at and, if possible, to discover, as it has been discovered in the case of Lucretius, and some few other writers ; but that, when the MS. material at our disposal presents a large number of discrepancies not analyzable into mere palaeographic depravations, and pointing to quite a different source, whether interpolation, or glosses, or second readings dating from unknown periods in the transmission of the text ; when the best that can be arrived at is to find some early MS. which, like the Marcianus in the *Tristia*, presents unmistakable marks of a pure uninterpolated transmission, yet occasionally falls into error ; in such a case, I say, the true critic will *not* be contented with collating this one MS., however exactly, nor with supplementing it by some *one* or *two* others which as a rule agree with it, and correct its manifest errors ; he will pursue his inquiries much further, will not despise the most neglected material, will hope to

¹ I use the term in a mild sense, text depends, mainly, on *two* primary to include cases like Lucretius, whose codices.

discover a lost passage even in late fifteenth century MSS. My own experience is sufficient to show that he will, at least sometimes, be rewarded for his trouble. Very recently the lamented J. H. Onions told me he was sure he had found the true reading of several passages of Nonius in a MS. which none before had collated. And I certainly believe myself to have restored from a Roman MS. of the fourteenth century the true reading of a verse of the *Culex* which all the ninth-century MSS., have handed down in a corrupt and unintelligible form.

The following remarks and criticisms are mainly on the last four books. On the first book I have made some observations in a review of Mr. Owen's edition published in 1885.

The second book is by far the most interesting of the collection. It is an elaborate apology for his life and works, addressed by Ovid to Augustus, in the hope of mitigating his anger and obtaining a reprieve. Its length (nearly 600 lines) gives it an unique position in the later poems of its author. In this respect the *Ibis* alone, if that is Ovid's, can compare with it; but the style of the *Ibis* is utterly dissimilar. The *Tristia* throughout, and the second book as much as any, are quite unlike the style of all the early poems. They stand with the *Epistles from Pontus* on a footing of their own. The elegiac distich, which in the *Heroides*, *Amores*, *Ars Amatoria*, and *Fasti*, is simple and direct, becomes, in these two works of the poet's exile, elaborate and involved. Ovid tasks himself to develop the metre, of which he has shown himself so perfect and exquisite a master, in a new way. As if the change in his fortunes demanded a new tone in his verse, his elegiacs from first to last assume a completely changed outline. The pointed, nervous expression which, preferably, had restricted the hexameter and pentameter to two main clauses, and these not interlinked, gives place to a

grammatical structure of clause within clause, to which the relative, and conjunctions like *cum*, *sic*, *si*, *ut*, give almost the character of prose. A distich from the opening Elegy of B. I. will illustrate my meaning, 17-20:

Si quis, ut in populo, nostri non inmemor illi,
 Si quis, qui, quid agam, forte requiret, erit,
 Vivere me dices, salvum tamen esse negabis:
 Id quoque, quod uiuam, munus habere dei.

Notice the extraordinary involution, *Si quis erit qui forte requiret quid agam.*² The sentence, too, runs on from one distich to the other; and this is another mark of its changed form. Such sentences are sometimes continued through a dozen verses or more, often with interposed parentheses, and the whole effect is the exact reverse of all we usually think of as Ovidian, not sparkling and epigrammatic, but creeping and prosaic. What, however, it loses in poetry it gains in grammar; hence the *Tristia* have been largely used in teaching, and form, with the *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*, an unexceptionable school-book.

II. 77-80.

A ferus et nobis crudelior omnibus hostis,
 Delicias legit qui tibi cumque meas,
 Carmina ne nostris q̄//// ūe nerancia libris
 Indicio possint candidiore legi.

The reading of 79 is as given by *L.* Mr. Owen gives *Carmina ne nostris quae te venerantia libris*. This has to me a doubtful look. I believe that the right reading is *te deuenerantia*. The word is rare, and might for that reason be altered. In *Heroid.* II. 18, *deuenerata* is doubtful; but *deueneranda* is undisputed in Tib. I. 5, 14.

² A very similar passage is III. 7, *uenisse, relinquet, Nec mora, quid*
 5, 6: *Quidquid aget, cum te scierit uenias quidue, requiret, agam.*

II. 137, 138.

Quippe relegatus, non exul, dicor in illo,
Priuaque fortunae uerba fuere meae.

Only *L* has preserved the obviously right word, *Priua*. The other MSS. give *Parua pauca parca*. Had anyone guessed rightly? Ovid of course alludes to the *special* word used to describe his banishment (*relegatio*).

II. 157.

Per patriam quæ ///// tuta et segura parente.

Owen gives *quæ te tuta*. The space in *L* points to something more, perhaps *quæ te et tuta*.

II. 191, 192.

Mr. Owen can hardly claim much probability for his conjectural names here. He prints

Sidones et Coli Tibarenaque turba Getaeque .
Danuuii mediis vix prohibentur aquis.

Sidones is very unlike the *Ciziges* (*L*), *Zizices*, *Zaziges*, *Sariges*, *Latiges*, *Iazies*, &c., of MSS.: the Tibareni, too, are very remote from the Danube, and in the comparatively civilized region of the Cappadocian Chalybes, to say nothing of their character for laughing (Anon. Peripl. Pont. Euxin. § 28: cf. Scymnus, fr. 179). The tribes mentioned by Ovid, if I mistake not, lay all close to each other: the *Lazi* (here called *Laziges*), the *Colchi* on the Phasis, the *Taretæ* (*Mete-reaque turba*), and the *Sindi* or *Sinti*, the last tribe reaching up to the Palus Maeotis. Ehwald has most acutely restored this last name for *inter*, IV. 1, 21, *Sola nec insidias Sinti nec militis ensem*, and it is concealed, I believe, in the strange

dimicat ira of *L* in IV. 4, 63, which is probably a corruption of *Sintica terra*. Steph. B. Λαζοί, Σκυθῶν ἔθνος· ἐστὶ καὶ χωρίον παλαιὰ Λαζική, ὡς Ἀρριανός. id. Ἀψίλαι, ἔθνος Σκυθικὸν γεγινάξον Λαζοῖς, ὡς Ἀρριανὸς ἐν περιήλῳ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου. Or, if the other reading, *Ciziges* or *Zizices* is adopted, we might identify this name with the *Zilchi* or *Sicchi* of Arrian's *Periplus Euxini*, § 18 in vol. 3 of Gail's *Geogr. Min.* The passage may be cited in full, as at least indicating the probable locale of the disputed peoples. Ἐνθένδε εἰς Ἀχαιοῦντα, στάδιοι ἐξήκοντα ὅσπερ ποταμὸς διορίζει Ζιλχοὺς καὶ Σανίχας. Ζιλχῶν βασιλεὺς Σταχέμφαξ. καὶ οὗτος παρὰ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. Ἀπὸ Ἀχαιοῦντος εἰς Ἡράκλειον ἄκραν, πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδιοι. Ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄκραν, ἵνα περ σκίπη ἐστὶν ἀνέμου Θρασίου καὶ βορρᾶ, ὁγδοηκόντα καὶ ἑκατὸν. Ἐνθένδε εἰς τὴν καλουμένην παλαιάν Λαζικὴν, εἴκοσιν καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδιοι. He then enumerates successively the Πάγρας λιμὴν and ἱερὸς λιμὴν. Then follows ἐνθένδε εἰς Σινδικὴν τετρακόσιοι ἀπὸ δὲ Σινδικῆς εἰς Βόσπορον τὸν Κιμμέριον καλούμενον, καὶ πόλιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, Παντικάπαιον, τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι. Scylax, *Peripl.* § 72, μετὰ δὲ Μαιώτας Σιντοὶ ἔθνος· διήκουσι γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔξω τῆς λίμνης. (Gail's *Geogr. Min.*, vol. i. p. 285).

Pliny in his description of this region (the neighbourhood of the *Palus Maeotis*) mentions in the course of a single paragraph (VI. 19) *two* peoples of identical or nearly identical name; the former Sillig prints as *Zingi*, but with *Cizi* as a MS. variant; the latter as *Cicimeni*, with the following, for our purpose instructive, variants of the MSS. *Zicieēniani* R, *cizicim esse niani* d, *cyzicime: enani* p. Detlefsen gives the former as *Scizi*, the latter as *Cizici*, *Messeniani*, i.e. two separate tribes, rightly, no doubt, as against Sillig's single *Cicimeni*. The variants noted by Sillig point to a name *zici-*, or *cizic-*, but the *eēniani*, which seems to represent *esseniani*, suggests that the second of

the two peoples was not *messeniani*, but *seniani* or something similar, the *-es* really belonging to *Cyzies*, which would bring the word into close approximation to the form it assumes in the MSS. of the *Tristia*, Ciziges or Zizices.

As for *meterea* or *methe(a, o)rea*, I believe it to be another form of a people called *Τοπέται* by Steph. Byz. and Dionysius Perieg. 682 (cf. the *Τοπερικὴ ἄκρα* of Ptol. v. 9), by Strabo *Τοπέται*, by Priscian in his hexametrical Periegesis, v. 661. *Orētae*, by Plin. H. N. VI. 17, variably in the best MSS. *Toretae*, *Teretae*, *Eretae*, *Oretae*. They were a Maeotic tribe, as Strabo 495 shows: τῶν Μαιωτῶν δ' εἰσιν αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Σινδοὶ καὶ Δανδάριοι καὶ Τοπέται καὶ Ἄγροι καὶ Ἀρρήχοι. A name which assumes so many forms was, no doubt, pronounced in many different ways; it is therefore quite possible that *Meterea* of Ovid's MSS. represented the sound of the name as he heard it; it is equally possible that the *m* is an early corruption of the scribes, and that the real word was *Toretea* or *Teretea*.

II. 277.

'At quasdam uitio': quicumque hoc concipit, errat,
Et nimium scriptis arrogat ille meis.

This is one of the clearest cases in which the superiority of *L* asserts itself. Of our editor's other MSS. only one, Canonici 1, has *uitio*, thus: *at qu'dam uitio*. The others have *uitiat*, *uitia* or *uitium*. Mr. Owen has rightly retained the reading of *L*, 'sensus enim est, at quasdam uitio afficit, dixerit quispiam. In this, however, I see that Merkel had preceded him in his edition of 1884. A more famous case is the well-known line, 296, *Stat Venus ultori iuncta, uir ante fores*. Till *L* was found to give *uir* as its *manus prima*, the MSS. examined all gave *uiro*. Bentley's

wonderful sense of metrical law already divined that the true reading was *uir*, and the same conjecture was afterwards made by Haupt and admitted by Lachmann (Lucr. p. 199).

II. 435-438.

Quid referam Ticideae, quid Memmi carmen, apud quos
 Rebus adest nomen, nominibusque pudor,
 Et quorum libris modo dissimulata Perilla est ?
 Nomine nunc legitur dicta, Metelle, tuo.

So Mr. Owen prints the passage, strangely, to my judgment: nor do I feel at all sure that he is right in following the MSS., and Merkel in keeping *adest* in 436. I suppose the meaning of *adest* to be, that in Ticide's and Memmius' poems *things* (*i. e.* *res uenereae*) were named without disguise, and the only care taken not to offend modesty was in concealing the *names* of the persons introduced. This is a possible meaning, but it is somewhat strained. Every time I have returned to the passage I have involuntarily recurred to the reading, which, since Heinsius has been generally adopted, *abest*; the things were unmentionable, and if mentioned, shocking to modest feeling. In 437 MSS., including *L*, give *per illos*, for which *Perillae* is ordinarily substituted, and the sentence continued to the end of 438. Mr. Owen's conjecture *Perilla est* is highly plausible, but he has, I think, marred the effect of it by placing a pause at the end of 437, instead of allowing the sentence to run on uninterruptedly to the end of 438: 'and those in whose verse but recently Perilla was counterfeited (*i. e.* was a counterfeit name), and is now read under her real name of Metella,' for this would have to follow from Apuleius's words, Apol. x., *eadem igitur opera accusent C. Catullum quod Lesbiam pro Clodia nominarit et Tictimam similiter, quod quae Metella erat Perillam scripserit*. I shall not attempt to solve the difficulty which lies in the words

Et quorum, implying as they seem to do, particularly if the MS. order of the verses is retained, that the part of Perilla-Metella was in no way connected with Ticida; but will express my hope that Mr. Owen will perfect his excellent text of the *Tristia* by an equally detailed commentary.

II. 447-450.

Credere iuranti durum putat esse Tibullus,

Sic etiam de se quod neget illa uiro.

Fallere custodem tandem } docuisse fatetur,
demum }

Seque sua miserum nunc ait arte premi.

In *L* the first hand wrote as far as *custoden*, and a later hand afterwards added *tādē*. The other MSS. all give *custodem*, and are pretty evenly divided between *tandem* and *demum*. Mr. Owen conjectures for this *totiens*, and alters, after Franz, *custodem* into *custodes*; comparing Tib. I. 2, 15, I. 6, 20, to which passages Ovid is referring, and which both give *custodes*. This may be thought to find some support in the reading of *L*, but I rather doubt the rightness of *totiens*. May not the disguised word be *damnum*? 'He confesses that in teaching how to deceive a guard he has only taught his own harm,' *i. e.* a lesson which may be used against himself.

II. 477-480.

Discolor ut recto grassetur limite miles,

Cum medius gemino calculus hoste perit,

Vt mare uelle sequens sciat et reuocare priorem,

Nec tuto fugiens incommitatus eat.

479 is so given in *L*: *male uelle* GVγ; *mage uelle* the other MSS.: for *sequens* many, indeed most, give *sequi*. The

passage is a well-known *crux*, as the numerous emendations prove. Mr. Owen conjectures *et comitare sequens sciat*, which he calls *lenis mutatio*. I should rather call it cutting the knot. I had thought of *Vt par uelle sequi sciat*, taking *par* as *compar*; and *uelle sequi* (with which cf. *desine uelle*) I would explain as a technical phrase, perhaps used by the owner of the piece, '*uolo sequi*,' 'I follow.' Or *mare uelle* possibly conceals *dare bella* 'to offer battle,' like *dare proelia*, Val. Fl. VI. 77.³

II. 485, 486.

Ecce canit formas alius iactusque pilarum,
Hic artem nandi praecipit, ille trochi.

Does Ovid here adhere to Manilius? The fifth book of the *Astronomica* contains graphic descriptions both of ball-playing and swimming. Merkel, as is well-known, believed Manilius to be the secret enemy attacked in the *Ibis*. If he was, this vague allusion to his poem would be dextrous enough; it might soothe his vanity, yet leave it open to Ovid to attack him. But this, and other points connected with the *Ibis*, can hardly yet be thought to be settled.

III. I, 47, 48.

Causa superpositaꝝ scripto testante coronae
Servatos ciues indicat huius ope.

So *L*: the other MSS. *superpositae* except *V*, which has *superposito*, and *ξ* which has *causaque suppositae*. For *testante* many give *testata*, whence the reading adopted by Ehwald in Merkel's edition of 1884,

Causa superpositae scripto testata coronae est.

³ Perhaps the words *reuocare priorem* may receive some light from the difficult passage, Sen. ad Polyb. de Consol. xvii. (*Caligula*) in *Albano suo tesseris*

ac foro et peruocatis et huiusmodi aliis occupationibus acerbissimi funeris eleuabat mala.

Mr. Owen restores what no one can doubt was the poet's
uera manus,

Causa superpositast scripto testante coronae.

Let Ovid-lovers be grateful for a *certainty*.

III. 1, 63, 64.

Quaeque uiri docto ueteres cepere nouique
Pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.

Cepere L, *coepere* G, *cepere* most MSS. Surely this must be wrong. I suggest *peperere*.

III. 2, 5, 6.

Nec mihi si quid lusi ūro sine crimine prodest
Quodque magis uisa musa iocata mea est.

So L. Hence Mr. Owen writes

Nec si qui lusi uero sine crimine prodest,
Quodque magis uita musa iocata mea est.

The other MSS. give *Nec mihi quod lusi*. It is a case where it is not easy to pronounce; but of the two readings opened by L, that adopted by our editor seems preferable to the other *Nec mihi si lusi*. I must not forbear here to raise a question of palaeography: *ūro* usually stands for *uestro*, though *uero* is proved by the other MSS. to be the right word here; yet *uestro sine crimine* would be perfectly correct Latin, 'without reproach to you': sc. the Muses.

III. 3, 21.

May not the reading of L and most MSS. be retained?

Si iam deficiam suppressaque lingua palato,

i. e. Si mecum deficiat lingua palato suppressa, 'pressed

close to my palate.' I do not like Owen's conjecture, *sub crasso*.

III. 5, 15, 16.

Brachiaque accepi presso pendentia collo,
Et singultantis oscula mixta sonis.

So Owen after *L*'s *singulantis*. The *Turonensis* and some other good MSS. give *singultatis*, and I agree with Heinsius, Merkel, Riese, Gütthling, and Ehwald, in preferring this to the accusative plural *singultantis*, which combines with a very un-Ovidian awkwardness the arms of the friends taking farewell of him with the friends themselves as double accusatives after *accepi*. Both Ovid and Statius have *singultare animam*.

31.

L gives

Quo quisq: /// maior est magis est placabilis irae,

with the second word altered later into *quisque*. Other MSS. have *Quo quisque maior*, *Quo quisquam est maior*, *Quo quis est maior*. This last is simply the residuum of a doubtful reading, and Merkel thought that this doubt lay between *Quisque* and *quisquis*. Owen seems partly to follow him; but I think wrongly: for—(1) it is very uncertain whether Ovid would have allowed himself to say *Quo quisquis maior*, as the authorities cited in the app. crit. show; (2) MSS. mostly add *est*; (3) the real doubt lies between *quisque est* and *quisquam est*. This last, it is true, is only quoted as the reading of a Bodleian MS. of the fifteenth century, and the absence of a negative in the sentence is against it; but this is just the thing which might have caused the doubt in the first instance. The cases of *quisquam* without a negative in Dräger, I. 80, 81, are enough to show that it would be a *possibility* here; and, at least,

as an alternative against *quisquis* it is a *probability*. In such passages the suggestion of a negative may generally be traced; here *Quo quisquam est maior* would imply that there were cases in which no such superiority could be alleged: in whatever degree a man is superior, in such degree he is more easily placable. I am here not defending the reading *Quo quisquam* as against *Quo quisque*, but as against *Quo quisquis*, which is repudiated by the uniform use of all the more classical writers, and would, I believe, never have been written by Ovid even in the decline of his genius and his latinity.

39, 40.

Quae ducis Emathii fuerit clementia Porus
Dareique docent funeris exequiae.

I signalize this passage for two reasons—(1) as showing the acuteness of the great Heinsius, who against all his MSS., most of which gave *Praeclarique*, others *Pompeiique*, *Dardaniique*, *Phariiue*, saw that the allusion was to *Darius*; (2) as a very conclusive proof of the unique superiority of *L*, which alone of all known codices has *Dareique*.

45-48.

Non mihi quaerenti pessumdare cuncta petitum
Caesareum caput est, quod caput orbis erat:
Non aliquid dixi uelataque lingua loquendo est,
Lapsaque sunt nimio uerba profana mero.

Owen conjectures *uesanaque*, which cannot be right, as *est* can by no possibility refer to the past, and a perfect is indispensable. I have little doubt that the right reading is

Non aliquid dixiue, elataue lingua loquendo est,

'transported, carried beyond bounds.' Cicero has *elatus uoluptate, dolore*.

III. 6, 15, 16.

Sed mea me in poenam nimirum fata trahebant
Omne bonae claudens utilitatis iter.

I believe this, the reading of *L*, to be right, with the single change of *claudens* to *claudent*.

Sed mea me in poenam nimirum fata trahebant.
Omne bonae claudent utilitatis iter?

'But allow that my fate was dragging me on to punishment, as no doubt it did. Is it to close up every avenue to advantage for the future?' This concessive use of *nimirum* 'no doubt,' 'admit the fact,' is illustrated by Hand Tursellinus, IV., p. 204, from Cic. *Legg.* II. 2, 3, *sed nimirum me alia quoque causa delectat, quae te non attigit ita*, where Hand remarks, 'nos, *ich kann nicht läugnen, allerdings*.'

III. 7, 11, 12.

Tu quoque dic studiis communibus ecquid inhaeres?
Doctaque nunc patrio carmina more canis?

Tu all MSS., *Tum* Owen, supposing Ovid still to be addressing his *libellus*. 'Even after this confession continue your questions to Perilla: say, Are you still pursuing our common subject, poetry?' I cannot here agree. The MS. reading seems to me indisputably right. 'Now, Perilla, tell me in your turn, Are you still following poetry, and emulating your father's fame?' The sudden turn to Perilla requires a word to introduce it markedly; and *Tu* does this.

27, 28, 29, 30.

Forsitan exemplo, quia me laesere libelli,
 Tu quoque sis poenae facta secuta meae.
 Pone, Perilla, metum : tantummodo femina nulla
 Neve uir a scriptis discat amare tuis.

So *L* : the only variants of any importance are *ruina* for *secuta*, and *fata* for *facta*.

Few passages of the *Tristia* are more difficult than this. Ovid, still addressing his wife's daughter, Perilla, who, like himself, wrote poetry, says he had fostered her genius from the first, and that if she continued as she had been, she might aspire to rival Sappho. Then

Sed uereor, ne te mea nunc fortuna retardet,
 Postque meos casus sit tibi pectus iners.
 Dum licuit, tua saepe mihi, tibi nostra legebam :
 Saepe tui iudex, saepe magister eram.
 25 Aut ego praebebam factis modo versibus aures,
 Aut ubi cessares, causa ruboris eram.

Then follow the verses above cited. It is observable that in IV. 1, 62, a somewhat similar line occurs

Huc quoque sunt nostras fata secuta uias,

where *L* gives *facta*. Reading, then, *fata* instead of *facta* (one of the commonest MS. interchanges), I would translate as follows:—'Perhaps you will say, "I have taken warning by the harm your poems brought upon you, and regarding myself as involved in your punishment *have given up writing*." Do not let such a thought alarm you, Perilla; the only thing you have to avoid is writing Arts of Love.' On this view the real point of the two verses, 27, 28, that

Perilla had given up composing, is not stated, but left to be *inferred* from the immediately following verses, 29, 30. The want of directness in this, however, is very unusual, and it is difficult not to suspect a corruption, the more so that *L* here fails us. Merkel conjectures *facta supina*, 'you may have become listless,' but the word is not a good one. Owen writes *soluta*, which is, I think, even worse. Ehwald conjectures *sollicitata*, which is somewhat wide of MSS. I suggest, as nearer to *secuta* than any of these, *retusa*, 'you have lost your sharpness, your wit is dulled by the warning my punishment brings.' *retusa* = *hebes*, ἀπηνεβλύνθης. Cicero opposed *ingenia retusa* to *acuta*, De Div., I. 36; and Jerome's *retusius* shows that the word had with the progress of the language become completely adjectival.

III. 10, 9-12.

At cum tristis hiemps squalentia protulit ora,
 Terraque marmoreo est candida facta gelu,
 Dum patet et boreas, et nix habitare sub arcto;
 Tum patet has gentes axe tremente premi.

Owen very cleverly conjectures *Dum parat*: I would suggest as even nearer to *patet*, *petit*.

III. 12, 1, 2.

Frigora iam zephyri minuunt, annoque peracto
 Longior antiquis uisa Maeotis hiemps.

Heinsius objected to *Maëotis*, of which no other instance is quoted, the *ae* being long in Lucan and Avienus, as well as Pont. III. 2, 59. Merkel, in his 1837 edition, I am glad to find, defends it. The MSS. are unanimous in its favour, though *L* fails us. Lachmann, it is true, refuses to accept it (on Lucr. I. 360), and suggests instead *Tomitis*. Owen conjectures *Tanaitis*, which had previously been made by

Unger. This involves a complete re-writing of the verse :

Longior abscedit vix Tanaitis hiemps,

'the unduly long winter of the Tanais slowly withdraws.' I confess here to grave scruples—(1) The word *Maeotis* is rare in Latin poetry and hardly justifies any alteration of it in the few passages where it occurs: the shortening, too, of *ae* in *præustus præacutus*, &c., is a well-known phenomenon; (2) Mr. Owen's *vix* more naturally attaches itself to *Tanaitis* than to *abscedit*, 'a winter scarcely Scythian,' 'of more than Scythian severity.' Such ambiguity is an argument against reading *vix* at all; (3) *Tanaitis*, which is found once in Sen. Phaedr. 401, *Tanaitis aut Maeotis*, a woman of Tanais or Maeotis, is farther removed from *meotis*, *meothis*, *meoptis*, than Lachmann's *Tomitis*; and even if it should be maintained that *vix Tanaitis* might in time pass into *uisa meotis*, there still remains the necessity (4) of altering *antiqua* or *antiquis* to *abscedit* or a similar verb. I believe the MS. reading to be unobjectionable. 'The cold begins to lessen with the west winds and the (close of the) Maeotic winter, which as the year ends its round, seems longer than the winters of the past.' In Ovid's verse *anno peracto* precedes *Maeotis hiemps*, and helps to determine its meaning, 'the end of the Maeotic winter.' It is wrong to make *uisa* = *uisa est*, unnecessary to alter, with Heinsius, *peracto* into *peracta*.

IV. 3, 83.

Vtere temporibus, quorum nunc munere freta ē
Et patet in laudes area magna tuas!

Ehwald, followed by Owen, prints *munere facta est*. This is perhaps the simplest emendation possible, but I imagine that *fre* is simply a dittograph of *ere* in *munere*: and if

this is so, many other participles might be suggested, the *f* forming no part of the real word.

IV. 4, 85.

Aque mea terra prope sunt funebria sacra,
Si modo Nasoni barbara terra sua est.

So *L*, against the other MSS. *Atque meam terram*. Even Ehwald retains this feeble reading, which, I hope, will be banished henceforward from the *Tristia*, now that Mr. Owen has rightly restored from *L* the poet's *uera manus*. I feel less certainty about another passage in which our editor has followed a doubtful indication in *L* against the other MSS. It is

IV. 5, 23.

Teque quod est fratrum praesta constanter ad omne
Indeclinatae munus amicitiae,

ratum *L*, *gratum* *E* (Paris 8329, Saec. xiii.), *rarum* the other MSS. Our editor prints *gratum*, appealing to I. 7, 11, *Grata tua est pietas*, Pont. iii. 2, 7, *Grata tua est igitur pietas*. But these passages are not nearly as telling as the precisely similar *quod est rarum* of *Ibis*, 121, 122, *Sitque, quod est rarum, solito defecta favore Fortunae facies inuidiosa tuae*. And so *Trist.* IV. 10, 121,

Tu mihi, quod rarum est, uiuo sublime dedisti
Nomen, ab exsequiis quod dare fama solet.

IV. 6, 37, 38.

Nos quoque, quae ferimus, tulimus patientius ante :
†Quae mala sunt longa multiplicata die.

For *Quae*, Owen conjectures *Vae*, greatly, I think, to the improvement of the passage ; though in these later elegies Ovid is at times feebler than in the former part of the *Tristia*.

IV. 8, 5, 6.

Nunc erat ut posito deberem fine laborum
Vivere cum nullo sollicitante metu.

For *cum*, some MSS. and Owen give *me*. Withof conjectured *nunc*: would not *iam* be nearer, 'at last beyond the reach of disturbing fear?' But I do not feel sure that *cum* is impossible, 'in the presence of no disquieting fear.' I *am* sure that *me* is wrong: for even if it followed *nullo* it would be unnecessary; and standing where it does, at the beginning of the clause, it seems to call for an emphasis which does not exist.

When I say that Ovid is *at times* feebler in the later Elegies than in the former books, I must make one remarkable exception. It is the ninth Elegy of B. IV. This is addressed to the enemy whom he believed to have been the secret cause of his banishment—in a word, to the man attacked by him in the *Ibis*. This is written in the most patent characters in the whole short poem (it is but thirty-two lines); but nowhere so forcibly as in the following indignant outbreak:—

Nostra per immensas ibunt praeconia gentes,
Quodque querar, notum, qua patet orbis, erit.
Ibit ad occasum, quidquid dicemus, ab ortu,
Testis et Hesperiae uocis Eous erit.
Trans ego tellurem, trans altas audiar undas,
Et gemitus uox est magna futura mei.

There is a solemnity in this which is half supernatural in its tone; we seem to hear the subterranean thunders of a *religious* interdict. And if ever literature was outraged in one of its chief representatives, or humanity in one of its greatest 'high-priests'—for who can claim that title if it be not the foremost poet of his age?—it was when the

tyranny of Augustus could condemn the famous world-poet to a life-long exile. What wonder that, as the conviction of the personality of the enemy who had betrayed him took clearer shape in the poet's mind, his resentment became clearer, his language more and more denunciatory? 'My words shall go from east to west; the Orient shall witness the utterance of the land of sunset. Beyond the earth, beyond the depths of the waters I shall be heard; the sound of my groaning shall be a loud sound.'

No passage in Ovid is grander than this: as his hatred takes fire, the languid verse kindles with it and breaks once more into flame.

Mr. Owen has introduced a reading on the third verse of this Elegy which deserves consideration. The passage is as follows:—

Si licet et pateris, nomen facinusque tacebo,
Et tua Lethaeis acta dabuntur aquis,
Nostraque uincetur lacrimis clementia seris,
Fac modo te pateat paenituisse tui.

For *clementia* four MSS. give *dementia*. Mr. Owen thinks this is right, in the sense of violent anger or fury. He compares Am. I. 7, 19, *Quis mihi non 'demens,' quis non mihi 'barbare' dixit?* Tib. I. 2, 11, *Et mala si qua tibi dixit dementia nostra, Ignoscas: capiti sint precor illa meo*. But in both these cases the word is used of a frantic outbreak of passion in a *lover*: in the Elegy before us the relation of the poet to the man he addresses is one of hatred and hostility. The suggestion of the word is, therefore, somewhat alien to the grave feeling which dominates the poem. Nor can I see any difficulty in *clementia*, 'my forbearance shall yield to your late repentance,' *i. e.* the humanity and forgiveness which are natural to me will not hold out against your repentance even if it comes late. If in Pont. II. 2, 121, *Victa tamen uitio est huius*

clementia nostro, the sense is somewhat different, meaning that the forbearance of the Emperor succumbed to the gravity of Ovid's offence, *i. e.* found it too grave not to be punished with the extremest rigour, this is only a modification of the same sense, and, so far as it goes, confirms the preponderant reading of the MSS. But though my feeling is against *dementia*, it is quite possible that a larger number of passages may be brought to support it: meanwhile I suspend my judgment.

V. 1. 15, 16.

Delicias si quis lasciuaque carmina quaerit,	
Praemoneo nostra	} scripta quod ista legat.
nunquam	

A curiously corrupted passage, well restored by GRONOVIVS, whose emendation our editor has wisely printed,

Praemoneo, non est scripta quod ista legat.

Yet there is some plausibility, and great ingenuity, in the suggestion of Capoferreus quoted by Heinsius,

Praemoneo numquam *TRISTIA nostra* legat.

V. 5, 29, 31.

Aspice ut aura tamen fumos e ture coortos
 In partes Italas et loca dextra ferat.
 Sensus inest igitur nebulis, quas exigit ignis.
 †Consilium fugiunt cetera pene tuum.

I print this passage only to recall once more (I have already done so in my *Fables of Avianus*) the name of a critic too much forgotten in our time, WITHOFF. It is he who restored the obelized verse as follows:—

Consilio fugiunt aethera, Ponte, tuum.

Hardly less convincing is the same scholar's
 Area de nostra nunc est tibi facta ruina
 for the corrupt

Par eadem } nostra nunc est tibi facta ruina.
 ea de }

These two verses show how deeply the text of the *Tristia* is at times vitiated. An even more signal instance of this is to be found in v. 5, 55,

Cum Pelia genitae tot sint, cur nobilis una est?

By far the largest number of Mr. Owen's MSS. give *C. P. g. t. s. cur cognita nobis?* It would seem that *nobilis* was glossed by *cognita*: then, when *nobilis* was corrupted into *nobis*, the gloss was taken up to complete the else imperfect hexameter.

V. 7, 21, 22.

Vivit in his theu nullus eorum† oblitus amorum
 Hos uidet hos uates audit amice tuus.

Ehwald, admirably, *heu nunc lusorum*. The last word is certain; but possibly *heu heu* was the original whence *heu nu-* or *heu nul-* was corrupted.

The immediately following verses can hardly be right as Mr. Owen prints them from the MSS. :—

Atque utinam uiuat et non moriatur in illis
 Absit ab inuisis et tamen umbra locis.

Ovid must, I think, have written

Atque utinam uiuat, *non et* moriatur in illis,
 Absit ab inuitis *ut* tamen umbra locis!

non et is Heinsius' conjecture: *ut* is found in a Paris MS. which Mr. Owen calls *R*. This restoration of the passage appears to me almost certain.

Another passage of the same Elegy is thus printed by Ehwald and Owen

V. 7, 65, 66.

Sic animum tempusque traho, sic meque reduco
A contemplatu summoveoque mali.

Sic meque D, *me sicque* AEF^Rδνπ, *mecumque* CGPQV^εκ, *maestusque* β, *meque ipse* most other MSS.

The new reading seems to me very objectionable. I cannot believe that Ovid would have written either *me sicque* or *sic meque*. Surely this is a case where the bulk of MSS. are substantially right; *ipse* in its abbreviated form, *ipe*, might easily give occasion to mistake; and besides, can as little be dispensed with as ἐμavτον in the curiously similar passage in Plato's Epistles, VII. p. 325 (cited by me on Catull. LXXVI. 11) ἐδυσχέρανά τε καὶ ἐμavτὸν ἐπανήγαγον ἀπὸ τῶν τότε κακῶν. The only other suggestion which has any probability is that *sic meque* is a corruption of *sic me ipse*.

V. 8, 19, 20.

Nos quoque floruimus: sed flos erat ille caducus,
Flammaque de stipula nostra brevisque fuit.

If *nostra* is the right word it must mean such as might be expected in my case, 'truly mine' in its brevity. I do not feel sure that this is right, and suggest either *macra* or possibly *mota*, 'my fortune was a short-lived flame raised from burning stubble.'

31, 32.

Si numeres anno soles et nubila toto
Inuenies nitidum saepius esse diem.

Surely *isse*, as many MSS. give: I cannot but agree with Merkel here, against Ehwald and Owen.

V. 10, 41, 42.

Vtque fit in me aliquid si quid dicentibus illis
Abnuerim quoties adnuerimque putant.

The right way of correcting 41 was first indicated by Schenkl who substituted *se* for *me*. Owen, accepting this, completes it by changing *si quid* into *statui*. This, from the ease with which *d* would attach itself to the end of the word before *dicentibus*, is more than probable; though SIQVI is not very near STATVI. May not the infinitive have been *finigi*?

Utque fit, in se aliquid finigi, dicentibus illis
Abnuerim quoties adnuerimque, putant,

ut fit = 'as often happens' not 'usually.'

V. 13, 3-6.

Aeger enim traxi contagia corpore mentis,
Liberata tormento pars mihi ne qua uacet,
Perque dies multos lateris cruciatibus uror
†Scilicet immodico frigore laesit hiemps.

So Owen, plausibly but not convincingly. The MSS. give endless variations. The best of these is, I think, that of T (the Turonensis), *Vt quem non modico f. l. h.* But almost all for *Vt* have *Sed*, one *Sic*. May not the right reading be

Sic me non modico frigore laesit hiemps?

One point, at least, seems more than probable; that *non modico* was the original reading, *immodico* the corruption: and if this is a right assumption, the two words which

make up the remaining foot cannot be far removed from the above suggestion. The reading which I have suggested is based on the excellent Gotha Codex (D), *sic non modico*, with *me* added later after *non*.

I return to another passage where I dissent from Mr. Owen's reading. It is III. 11, 59-62,

Tot mala sum fugiens tellure, tot aequore passus,
Te quoque ut auditis posse dolere putem.
Crede mihi, si sit nobis collatus Vlixes,
†Neptunique minor quam Iouis ira fuit.

For *Neptunique* of most of the weightier MSS., others give *Neptuni minor est*. Jortin retained this latter reading, placing a comma after *minor*,

Neptuni minor, est quam Iouis ira, fuit.

Merkel less violently punctuates after *est*, explaining, I suppose, 'Neptune's wrath as described in the Odyssey is less than I have found from Jove.' Owen writes

.Neptunine minor quam Iouis ira fuit ?

After *crede mihi* such a question is, I believe, unexampled.

PONT. IV. 2, 21, 22.

Si quis in hac ipsum terra posuisset Homerum,
Esset, crede mihi, factus et ille Getes.

TRIST. II. 353.

Crede mihi distant mores a carmine nostri.

III. 4, 25.

Crede mihi, bene qui latuit, bene uixit.

V. 6, 42.

Crede mihi, uero est nostra querella minor.

Only once, so far as I can find, is even an imperative permitted after *crede mihi*, Am. II. 2, 9,

odium, mihi crede, mereri

Desine.

If then *Neptunique* is nearer the true reading than *Neptuni minor est*, either *que* = *quoque*, of which I know no corresponding instance in Ovid (see, however, my note on Catull. CII. 3⁴), or some corruption is concealed, *que minor* representing a trisyllabic comparative *leuior*, *brevior*, or possibly *melior*, 'more endurable.'

⁴ To the passages there cited add Tac. Ann. VI. 19, *ac ne dubium haberetur magnitudinem pecuniae malo vertisse, aurariasque eius quamquam*

publicarentur, sibimet Tiberius seposuit, where Ernesti conjectures *quoque*. Muretus omits *que* and Orelli follows him.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

TWO EMENDATIONS IN AESCHYLUS.

Persae 277 seqq.

ὁτοτοῖ, φίλων
 ἀλίδονα σώματα πολυβαφῇ
 κατθανόντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι
 πλαγκτοῖς ἐν διπλάκεσσιν.

I do not suppose that anyone is satisfied with any of the numerous interpretations of the last line printed above. I propose to alter it to

πλαγκτοῖς δεῖπνα δάκεσσιν

‘vagis piscibus cenas.’

On anagrammatic principles, ἐν διπ is δεῖπν, and ΔΑΚΕΣΣΙΝ and ΔΑΚΕΣΣΙΝ are practically the same, so that all we have to admit is the loss of one letter, A.

To illustrate the use of δίκος, the use of δεῖπνα, and the general sentiment, the following passages at once occur—*Prom.* 605 (Wecklein): ποντίοις δάκεσι (με) δὸς βοράν; *Suῤῥ.* 809: ὄρνισι δεῖπνον οὐκ ἀναίνομαι πέλειν; *Ar. Thesm.* 1028: ἔμ' ἐκρέμασε κόραξι δεῖπνον; *Aesch. Pers.* 580: σκύλονται πρὸς ἀναύδων, ἡέ, παίδων τᾶς ἀμιάντον; *Propert.* 3, 7. 8: *nova longinquis piscibus esca natat*; *Plaut. Rud.* 2. 6. 29: *Piscibus in alto, credo, praebeant prandium.*

Agamemnon, 561, 2.

μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέξαιμι καὶ δυσανλίας
 σπαρνὰς παρήξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους, τί δ' οὐ
 στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες ἡματός μέρος;

I suggest

τί δ' οὐ

τείνοντες οὐ χαλῶντες ἡματος μέρος ;

'what moment of the day were we not hauling taut or slacking cable'? For these operations *τείνειν* and *χαλᾶν* (sc. *πόδα*) were technical words. One of the hardships of shipboard would naturally be incessant toil shifting sail, to catch the varying wind.

A. PALMER.

ARISTOPHANICUM.

Ecclesiāzusae 175.

ἐμοὶ δ' ἴσον μὲν τῇσδε τῆς χώρας μέτα
ὄσονπερ ὑμῖν· ἄχθομαι δὲ καὶ φέρω
τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντα βαρέως πράγματα.

Praxagora does not bear all the affairs of state heavily, nor does she bear them at all, but she bears it heavily, that they have gone to ruin. Read :

φέρω

τὰ τῆς πόλεως σαπέντα βαρέως πράγματα.

Cf. Dion. *Hal.* 11. 37 : σήποντας τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα.

A. PALMER.

VERRALL'S 'AGAMEMNON'.

AN edition of the masterpiece of Aeschylus is always an event in the world of scholarship, but especially when that edition comes from Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge wields in the field of scholarship the same preponderating influence which Oxford wields in the field of speculation. As regards new methods of criticism, we may say, *si quid movetur Cantabrigia sentit Anglia*. And never was sobriety and seriousness in criticism more to be desired than now, when the study of Greek is on its trial, and many would push from their seats

'The dead and sceptred sovereigns who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.'

Fortunately the Cambridge school has now at its head, in the Regius Professor of Greek, one who may be trusted to maintain the best traditions of his College and University. But it is deeply to be deplored that another brilliant member of the same Society to which Professor Jebb belongs should take a course so widely divergent from those traditions. The higher the scholarship, the greater the brilliancy, of the exponent of a new method of criticism, the more mischievous results is it likely to produce, and the more necessary it becomes to protest against it. If this protest is to be made, it is, perhaps, well that it

* The 'Agamemnon' of Aeschylus, Litt. D., Fellow of Trinity College, with an Introduction, Commentary, Cambridge. Macmillan, 1889. and Translation. By A. W. Verrall,

should come from one who, not belonging to an English University, has the deepest reverence for the fame of the English Universities in the past, and the strongest desire that they may maintain it unimpaired in the future.

I will begin with a pleasant duty. It is a pleasure to me to congratulate Dr. Verrall on his Introduction to the *Agamemnon*, which is quite admirable. In pointing out that much of the business of the play must have been transacted by mere action, of which the play, as we have it, of course contains no record, and that there are speakers not mentioned among the *dramatis personæ*, and not forming part of the regular chorus—for instance, the Queen's accomplices, who speak in the passage beginning at 363—he has thrown a flood of light on the play, and introduced, indeed, a new and fertile conception into classical criticism. How puzzling, let us reflect, would be Shakspeare's *Julius Cæsar*, if all the sentences not spoken by one of the principal characters were ascribed to one and the same body of persons, called vaguely the Chorus. I cannot agree with Dr. Verrall that the beacon-light was a thing devised by Aegisthus and Clytæmnestra, and that her grand description of the fire-signals is an elaborate fraud and falsehood, but the way in which he has put his case is full of instruction and suggestion.

If Dr. Verrall would apply his conspicuous literary ability to the writing of a history of Greek literature he would confer a great favour on students of Greek. It is chiefly in literary execution that recent works on this subject, though excellent in some respects, are notably and confessedly deficient: I except Professor Jebb's admirably written *Primer of Greek Literature*, which, however, only aims at giving a mere outline, and Mr. Symonds's books on Greek poetry, which, if one may say so, are *too* literary. Now, artistic finish of style seems, in the phrase of Dogberry, to 'come by nature' to Dr. Verrall. The

Introduction and the Translation are so good that they would justify the Commentary, if anything could: and some will perhaps maintain that they do. Dr. Verrall says, in his Preface:

'This edition of the *Agamemnon* is the second instalment of that edition of Aeschylus which I hope to complete in course of time. The present volume has occupied me for many years, having been commenced long before my edition of the *Septem*, and frequently re-written, as I gained more knowledge of the poet. No one competent to undertake such a work can flatter himself much upon the little that he can possibly have achieved, in comparison with the desirable ideal. It is not likely that as long as there is any spirit of progress there will ever be a final edition of Aeschylus. Certainly we are far enough from such a consummation at present. But with all the defects which I see, and the many which, doubtless, I do not see, I trust that this book is not unworthy of the place in which it has been written, and of the great living scholars by whose teaching and encouragement it has been inspired.'

I am forced to say, with great reluctance, that in my judgment this edition, in respect of criticism, is unworthy of Cambridge, and not representative of her teaching. It is the more painful to feel bound, in honesty and in the interests of classical learning, to pronounce such an opinion, because every sentence of the Introduction and of the Translation, and every note of the Commentary, adds to the admiration one feels for the literary powers of the editor. Nay, more, one feels that Dr. Verrall is really a scholar, even when he is enunciating principles quite at variance with the doctrine of the great Cambridge teachers of the past and the present. One feels that he deliberately casts away the burden of his learning when his Ariel-fancy tempts him to flit after some empty creation of its own. I may offend

others in using these words. It distresses myself to say hard things of one whom I still hold to be really a scholar, in spite of the pains which he takes to conceal the fact. And so I am naturally in a hurry to justify what I have said. For this purpose I will at once adduce a passage in which the editor has out-verrall'd Verrall, the much vext verse 1171,

ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδω βαλῶ.

This verse has been remodelled in various ways, none of them perhaps quite satisfactory, though of all of them one might fairly say that the suggested verse might have come from Aeschylus. Dr. Verrall writes :

'It is a common groundwork of all views that ἐμπέδω at least is wrong. Now it is, I submit, on the contrary, certain that ἐμπέδω is right.'

I quite agree with him : ἐμπέδω is most probably right. In a modern copy of verses the words would be written *divisim* ἐν πένδω, and they mean 'on the ground.' But he regards ἐμπέδω as the dative of ἐμπεδος, and so, of course, it might be, if as such it yielded anything like a meaning. Dr. Verrall has found a meaning for it. In an evil hour he observed that Priam is called ἐμπεδος in the *Iliad*, and Atè whispered to him, that in this passage ἐμπεδος indicates Priam, and θερμόνους Cassandra. What Cassandra should say, according to the editor, is, 'I shall soon share the fate of Priam.' This he finds in the words which he translates, 'I, the sick-brained, I shall soon be sent after the wise :' βαλῶ, he says, may mean 'I shall go,' because βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας means 'go to perdition :' the dative of the person after a verb of motion is justified by a wire-drawn theory, that Priam is a type of several things (enumerated), and is not strictly regarded as a person : and the whole phrase is seriously given to us as a possible

Greek expression—βαλῶ ἐμπέδω, 'I shall go after the wise (steadfast) one.' Now, if I could be convinced that Aeschylus wrote these words, I should unhesitatingly regard them as intentionally comic: βαλῶ, 'I shall go,' would be an ultra-comic usage, and the absence of the article would go far to convert ἐμπέδω into a nickname. I do not desire to be flippant or to jest out of season, and I seriously aver that, in my mind, the fitting type of a version of such words would be some such expression as 'I'll trot along after Stick-in-the-mud.' Something like this would be required to bring out adequately the vulgarity of the Greek, supposing for a moment such an expression to be possible at all in Greek.

But it may be urged, that even such amazing doctrine as this, put forward by an excellent scholar, will do no harm. Teachers will tell their pupils, that it is impossible that Dr. Verrall really believes in ἐμπέδω βαλῶ, 'I shall go after the steadfast one,' and will dismiss the note, perhaps with an injudicious compliment on its ingenuity. But what about the student who has no guide but Dr. Verrall? When I first read Aeschylus in Paley's edition, I had such a veneration for Cambridge scholarship, that I almost think that I should have believed him if he had told me that ἐμπέδω βαλῶ meant 'I shall follow the steadfast one.' Will there not be students now ready to repose such a faith in the equally eminent Dr. Verrall? And what is an Examiner to do with a student who employs such a construction in writing Greek, and defends his usage by an appeal to this passage? *Hypotheses non fingo*. I felt extremely puzzled as to what course I should take when a candidate for a high distinction sent up verses in which ἐκτός was made to stand for ἐχομένη, with a reference to Dr. Verrall's *Septem* v. 251. The *Septem* has been issued as a school edition by Messrs. Macmillan.

I will now point out other instances of perverse inter-

pretation and inconsistent application of the rules of evidence. In vv. 49-51,

τρόπον αἰγυπῶν οἷτ' ἐκπατίοις
ἄλγεσι παίδων ὑπατοὶ λεχέων
στροφοδοῦνται,

according to the editor *παίδων* does not refer to the young of the birds, as it has always been understood; the passage in the *Persae*, 580, where fishes are called *παῖδες* of the sea, 'proves nothing;' the *παῖδες* are the mischievous boys who throw stones at the vultures; *ἐκπατίοις* 'applies properly to the birds themselves, but is transferred to their feelings (*ἄλγη*) by a usage in which Greek poetry is peculiarly bold;' and *ὑπατοὶ λεχέων* means 'highest-nested.' His translation is, *Like vultures, who, vexed by boys in the supreme solitudes where they dwell, wheel round and round, &c.* Now, I do not at all deny that vultures build their nests in high places. Aristotle bears witness to the fact,¹ and in *Suppl.* 773 Aeschylus himself calls an inaccessible rock *γυπίας*, 'haunt of vultures.' I do not even ask how the boys got at the supreme solitudes. But I must ask, why does the poet dwell on the *supreme solitude* of the birds, when they are only mentioned at all as victims to the wantonness of passing urchins. It is significant that Homer, in a parallel simile, dealing with other objects of schoolboys' petulance, is careful to emphasize the *accessibility* of the wasps to the attacks of the boys, *Il.* xvi. 259-261:

αὐτίκα δὲ σφῆκεσσιν εὐικότες ἐξεχέοντο
εἰνοδίοις, οὓς παῖδες ἐριδμαίνωσιν ἔθοντες
αἰεὶ κερτομέοντες, ὁδῶ ἔπι οἰκί' ἔχοντας.

Verse 65,

διακναιομένης τ' ἐν προτελείοις
κάμακος,

¹ H. A. ix. 11, τίκτει ἐν πέτραις ἀπροσβάτοις.

is explained as a reference to 'the old marriage custom made familiar by Raphael's *Sposalizio*,' according to which, 'at the ceremony young men *broke sticks across their knees*.' The word *προτελείοις* is 'properly *ritual preceding marriage*, used here with irony, the war being the *προτέλεια* through which Helen must be finally won.' Yet the editor owns that there is no evidence whatever for referring the custom to the time of Aeschylus, or, indeed, to the ancient world at all. In 105 ὁδίων κράτος αἰσίων ἀνδρῶν ἐκτελέων is rendered 'an encouragement on their journey (through life) permitted to men whose vigour is past'—a version which violently strains the meaning of every word in the passage, except ἀνδρῶν. In 119 he preserves *δορυπάλτου* of the MSS., on the ground that it is 'impossible to prove that Aeschylus could not have written the word as it is given in the MSS., or that his spelling was always consistent.' And in 116 he reads ἀργίας, because 'it cannot be proved that Aeschylus would not allow the form *arg-yas*.' Yet in 343 he alters νήσταις of the MSS. to νῆστις (nom.), on the ground that 'it is not clear that Aeschylus would have used the form νήσταις, particularly for the *accusative* case; the 'proper forms are νησιτίδας and νήστιας.' If this is so, he should have read νήστιας in 343, and defended it by ἀργίας, pronouncing the word *nest-yas*. But though 'it is not clear' that Aeschylus would have written so very natural a form as νήσταις, it is apparently quite clear that he would have written ὑπνῶ for ὑπνόη, or ὑπνόει (v. 189), ἐγρήγορον (358), προσέβατο (770), αὐλαβεία (1009), all of which are given a place in the text, which is denied to νήσταις.

Other curious instances present themselves of the way in which Dr. Verrall shifts the criteria of proof to suit the many-twinkling phases of his novel and subtle fancies. In 386 he retains τόλμη of the MS. in a passage written in the Doric dialect, observing that 'there may have been

good literary reason for the form here,' and, in like manner, *Τροίην*, in 582, on the ground that 'the archaic (Ionic) form is used, as, for Athenian ears, naturally suggesting the language of an ancient inscription.' On equally frivolous grounds he preserves such obvious blunders as *ἀλληλῆσι* and *νύμφας* in iambic trimeters, and *αὐλαβεία* for *ἀβλαβεία* in 1009. Yet he rejects *τοκήων* of the MS. in 729. Why? Apparently because others have defended it, so there is no originality in adhering to the MS. here. It cannot be that he dislikes the epicism of the form *τοκήων*, for he has introduced a perfectly new epicism in *προσετράφθη* from *προστρέπω* eight lines lower down, and he acquiesces in *πολέα* for *πολλὰ* four lines higher up. Yet more marked is the editor's perversity when, in a note on 389, he hesitates to ascribe to *ἀπήμαντος* the perfectly normal meaning of 'harmless,' adding that *ἀπημάντω σθένει*, in *Συρρλ.* 584, 'does not prove it;' yet in the very next note he translates *μεγάλα λακτίσαντι* 'for one who doth haughtily spurn,' and defends the extraordinary adverbial use of *μεγάλα* by the obviously inapplicable *μεγάλ' ἐπέυχεται*. I am utterly unable to understand how an editor, in commenting on *νείκης παλαιᾶς*, 1377, feels bound to reject the form *νείκη*, because it depends only on the authority of the ancient lexicographers, and on a passage in Euripides, *Or.* 1679, which he impugns; yet feels justi-

² It seems to me to prove it, if any passage can in the strictest sense *prove* the meaning of a word. We constantly read in this edition that 'it cannot be proved' that Aeschylus would not have permitted himself some unexampled licence in the introduction of Ionic and Doric forms into Attic senarii. If the word *proved* is used in its strictest sense, the laws which regulate the very structure of

the tragic iambic trimeter cannot be proved. But it is as certain that the MSS. are mistaken when they present a mixture of dialectical forms, as it is that they are mistaken when they present verses which violate the fundamental laws of the metre; while in both cases there are certain well-understood limits, within which deviations from a fixed standard is permissible.

fied in suggesting that *παλαιᾶς* means 'pertaining to wrestling,' and so translates it, though he thinks there is a play on 'the other possible sense of *παλαιός*, *ancient*.' This is indeed to strain at a gnat, and swallow, not a camel, but an elephant. In like manner, in 147,

δρόσοις ἀέπτοις μαλερῶν λεόντων,

for *λεόντων* he reads *έόντων*, which is improbable for many reasons, though he quotes from the *Etymologicum Magnum* a note which almost demonstrates the correctness of the word *λεόντων*.³

Comments of this kind turn criticism into caprice. The only principle which I can detect in the edition is a determination to recoil as much as possible from received opinion, whether that received opinion maintains or impugns the evidence of the MSS. The editor claims that his recension adheres more closely to the MSS. than its predecessors in modern times. Certainly it does, in so far as it retains in many passages the flagrant blunders which were corrected by the earliest editors after the revival of learning, such as *Τροίην* and *νύμφας* and others mentioned above, to which I will here add *σύννορθον αὐταῖς*, 266, and *κλάβας*, 880, a mere slip for *βλάβας*, just as a few verses lower down *στόλον* is a slip for *στῦλον*, and in 910 *βαρβάθου* is a slip for *βαρβάρου*; but, on the other hand, he deserts the MSS. in many places where there is no reason to reject their tradition, and where the *consensus* of modern editors accepts it. Besides, the MS. reading may be retained, or very slightly remodelled, and yet the meaning may be completely revolutionized. The promise of conservatism is kept to our ear, and broken to our hope. In 189 the MS. reading *ἐν θ' ὕπνω* becomes by a slight change *ἐνθ' ὕπνω*, 'wherever it sleeps,' *ὕπνω* being 'the Doric contraction for

³ Λίσχυλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι τοὺς σκύμνους τῶν λεόντων δρόσους κέκληκε.

ὑπνόν, or for ὑπνόει.' In 239 αἰῶνα παρθένειον is explained to mean 'mere life-breath of a girl;' ὄσσοις (475) is not 'eyes,' but 'points,' or 'peaks'; παρέξει is retained in 1513, but it survives, not as the future of παρέχω, but as the dative of πάρεξις. Rightly considered, therefore, the edition is not conservative but subversive of tradition. I strongly hold that no one should publish an edition of the *Agamemnon* unless he believes that he is able to throw some new light on the play. But he who persuades himself that there is hardly a passage five lines long in the play which has not been hitherto completely misunderstood, has need to make very sure of his views, and to be very instant in defending them. We cannot, to be sure, find any evidence of haste in Dr. Verrall's work. Indeed, the edition would suggest that he had pored over the text till the words swam before his eyes, and then had written the notes in a dream. Lord Tennyson, in *Elaine*, used a subtle simile—

'As when we dwell upon a word we know,
Repeating, till the word we know so well
Becomes a wonder, and we know not why.'

I can only point to these lines in trying to realize the state of mind in which Dr. Verrall may have satisfied himself that βροτοῖς (232) should be accented βρότοις, and translated 'the shedding of blood'; that πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα in the description of the storm (656) is an allusion to the beacon-light and the bath; that παλαιᾶς (1377) meaning 'pertaining to wrestling'; and that ὑπτιᾶσμα (1284) indicates *precisely* 'the inward-sloping part in the capital of a pillar, which carries the *abacus*, or flat top.'

But inconsistency is so characteristic of this work, that we may say it is the only quality which it consistently exhibits. He explains δίκη as 'a cast' in 1228.⁴ If the

⁴ λέξασα κάκτεινασα φαιδρόνους δίκηην | ἔτης λαθραίου.

word can bear that meaning, why does he not ascribe it to it in 1615,⁵ where it would be far more applicable? He constantly retains most improbable readings, on a principle right within due limits, that the MS. reading could not have occurred to the copyist as a conjecture. On this ground he justifies even κλάβας (880); but he calls ῥυσᾶς of the MS. in 1408, 'a quite mistaken conjecture,' though such a word is in the highest degree unlikely to have occurred to a copyist as a conjecture. The copyist would readily substitute a common and obvious epithet of the sea, like ῥυτᾶς, 'flowing,' for a rare and *recherché* epithet, like ῥυσᾶς, 'wrinkled,' but he is not at all likely to fall into the converse error. So the modern compositor sets up a common or easy expression for a rare or difficult one; not long ago one of them gave *co-respondent of fiction* for *co-efficient of friction*; but he certainly would not have substituted the latter phrase for the former. Lord Tennyson has applied this highly poetical epithet to the sea, in his fragment about the eagle—

'The wrinkled sea beneath him crawls';

and it is hard to see why such a word might not have occurred to the author of ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα in the *Prometheus*. The quantity of the first syllable of ῥυσᾶς affords no ground for rejecting the word: a spondee may correspond to a trochee in dochmiac verse.

At times Dr. Verrall is most rigorous in exacting the most normal prose order of words, as in 14, 15 :

φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ
τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ,

where, on the ground that otherwise 'the weakest word in

⁵ οὗ φημι ἀλύξειν ἐν δίκῃ τὸ σὸν κάρη | δημορριφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμους ἄρας.

the sentence (ὑπνῳ) has the place of emphasis,' he gives a rendering which appears to me to be quite impossible: 'for, instead of sleep, I am haunted by the fear that by sleep I might close my eyes for ever (that is, I might suffer death if I were caught neglecting my watch).' But in 561—

τί δ' οὐ
στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος ;

he introduces an extravagant hyperbaton in explaining the verse as meaning 'bemoaning the privation of everything'; that is, στένοντες οὐ-λαχόντες τί-οὐ (= στέγοντες πάντων ἀτυχήσαντες).

Another passage (297 ff.) is so contorted that I am disposed to give in the note the Greek and the rendering, and to let my readers exercise themselves in the task of finding out the construction,⁶ only adding, that it is amazing to me that the brilliant conjecture of Donaldson, ἰχθῦς for ἰσχὺς, which seems to have occurred independently to H. L. Ahrens, should have attracted so little attention. An interesting passage in Mr. Clark Russell's *Marooned* describes the catching of fish by attracting them to the glare of a torch shed over the water.

In v. 1076, αὐτόφωνα κακά καρτάναι, Dr. Verrall reads, not κάρτάναι, but κάρτα·ναί. Can anyone doubt that if he had found κάρτα·ναί in the text he would have corrected it to κάρτάναι, which need not imply that any of the Pleisthenidæ destroyed themselves by hanging, for hanging in

⁶ μέγαν δὲ πανὸν ἐκ νήσου τρίτον
'Αθῶν αἶπος Ζηὺς ἐξεδέξατο
ὑπερτελής τε (πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι
ἰσχὺς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδύνην)
πεύκη.

*And the huge beacon from Lemnos'
isle was taken up thirdly by Zeus'
mountain of Athos, with such a
soaring pile of wood upon it, as
might strengthen the travelling flame
to pass joyously over the wide main.*

Greek was a proverbial expression for 'a desperate state of affairs.' Clytæmnestra (886) says it had often come to that pass with her. Compare Eum. 746, Soph. *O. T.* 1374, ταῦτα δῆτ' οὐκ ἀγχόνη *Ar. Ach.* 125, and ἀγχόνης ἐπάξια *Eur. Bacch.* 246.

On 1210 the editor rejects the ordinary form of the verse, which appears usually either as

πῶς δῆτ' ἀνακτος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότον ;

or as

πῶς δῆτ' ἀνατος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότῳ ;

pointing out that the question to be looked for is not, *How didst thou escape the anger of Loxias?* but *How could Loxias punish thee?* At this latter sense he aims by taking ἀνακτος, not as the genitive of ἀναξ, but as a verbal from ἀνάγειν, to 'bring back,' or 'recover'—*How were you brought back within the sphere of the wrath of Loxias?* or, as he translates (somewhat loosely), *How could the wrath of Loxias reach thee then?* If one felt justified in coining verbal adjectives, a very slight change would present a far better word in ἐνεκτός. The exact expression required for Dr. Verrall's sense would have been ἐνοχος, or some part of ἐνέχεσθαι. He introduces ἐκτός into his text in *Septem*, 251.

I believe that Dr. Verrall, in common with nearly all editors, has allowed a solecism to stand in 136.' Surely οἶον cannot mean 'only,' = μόνον. The word οἶος in Greek means 'alone, lone, lonely'; and though *alone* is sometimes incorrectly used for *only* in phrases such as 'not alone true but demonstrable,' yet surely no one would use *lone*,

¹ οἶον μή τις ἔγα θεόθεν κνεφάσῃ, κ. τ. λ. I find, on referring to Wecklein's Appendix, I am confirmed by

the judgment of Thiersch, who reads οἶον with the Codex Guelferbytanus, and of Schöne, who conjectures οἶων.

or *lonely*, in such a way; and these are the words which correspond in meaning with the Greek οἶος. I believe we should read οἶον, and render 'for instance, the (untoward) chance that some divine displeasure may overcloud,' &c. Cp. οἶος καὶ Πάρις ἐλθὼν, 409.

One of the most strongly Aeschylean expressions in the play, in which a strong metaphor is packed into a single word, is found at 288—

ἀλλ' ἢ σ' ἐπιάνεν τις ἄπτερος φάτις;

This fine figure must go. Dr. Verrall has invented a new word: ἐπίανεν is, we are told, from ἐπιαίνω, 'to cheer', not from πιαίνω, 'to fatten'. In 362 we read that the demonstrative follows, according to rule, the gender of the predicate. This is the rule in Latin, but the Greek usage varies.* In 433 οὐ μεθέσπερον is translated 'that instant'; but Dr. Kennedy observed very aptly that 'not subsequently' would be a strange way of expressing 'immediately after'.

I will now give a list of the absolutely new words which the editor introduces into his text, or strongly recommends in his notes; and then of the words to which he attributes an unheard-of signification. He does not go so far as to condemn a word solely because it is found in Liddell and Scott, but he has a higher respect for one which has kept out of the bad company to be found between the covers of that Lexicon. The new words are:—

ξυνωμότησαν p. xxxvi, ἡμερόφᾱτον 82, καταπνεύει 107, ἐρικύματα 122, λίμμασι 126, τοπάν 185, ὑπνῶ 189, σύνορθον 266, ἐπιαίνω 288, ἐγγήγορον 358, ἐγγονοῦσα 385, θιγή 431, δημοκράτου 464, συγκότων 463, ἀξιφύλλους 700, οἷτας 720, προσέβατο 770, κλάβας 880, παρήμησεν 975, ψύδη 988, αὐλαβεία 1009,

* Compare τοῦτο πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ Cicero's *hic fons hoc principium morum γενέσεως*, Plat. *Phaedr.* 245, with *vendi*, *Tusc.* i. 53.

παράσταθμοι 1029, παιδιορραντήριον 1077, δυσᾶγει 1164, δυσ-
πυθῇ 1254, ἐπικραῖνεί 1339, ἐπεύχετα 1476.

In addition to these, there are other words which are mentioned by Liddell and Scott, but only as corrupt readings; and others only to be found in quite unclassical authors.

The words to which an unexampled meaning is given are:—βρότοις 'shedding of blood' 232, αἶωνα 'breath' 239, ἀπαρκεῖν 'to be content' 390, δικαιοθῆεις 'brought to justice' 403, πένθεια 'a kinswoman' 438, ἀρᾶς 'a conspiracy' 464, ὄσσοις 'points' or 'peaks' 475, ἀποστέγω 'I suppress' 504, τᾶγας 'assessments' 813, παμονᾶς 'riches' 999, βαλῶ 'I shall go' 1171, κλύειν 'to roll' 1181, ἀνακτος 'drawn back' 1210, ἀπαρχος 'discommanded' 1226, δίκη 'a cast' 1228, ὑπτίασμα 'part of the capital of a pillar' 1284, παλαίας 'pertaining to wrestling' 1377, θύος 'fury' 1409.

I have before expressed my admiration of Dr. Verrall's Introduction and Translation. He shows great acuteness, as a rule, in the allotting of lines to their proper speakers, as in 166,⁹ which he proposes to give to Clytæmnestra. Of his own conjectures there is nothing to be said against οἱ γὰρ ἔπη κεύσω 791, or τίς τίν' ἂν εὐξαιτο βροτῶν ἀσινεῖ 1340. In 1191, ἡ τηρῶ τι τοξότης τις ὤς, his defence of the MS. reading is very attractive; and in 1641, ὁ δυσφιλῆς κότῃ λιμὸς ξύνουκος, I think he has vindicated from needless alteration a thoroughly Aeschylean expression, which, so far as I know, he is the first to explain, '*hunger that is to rage ill-friendly as a housemate*, so called, because where hunger comes rage is *turned out of doors*, or, in plain words, the angry spirit is tamed.' He has also explained well ἐπηνθίσω, 1460, and the difficult verse, 1448:

εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς.

⁹ Where he suggests σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἁμαρτῇ τὸν κρατοῦνθ' ἁμαρτάνειν.

Dr. Verrall is capable of the very best work when he can keep in hand his passion for startling novelty of treatment. If he could only habitually exercise such self-restraint, I for one could sincerely say to him :

'I would applaud thee to the very echo
That should applaud again.'

ROBERT YELVERTON TYRRELL.

CATULLUS,

64. 105 *segg.*

Nam velut in summo quotientem brachia Tauro
Quercum aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum
Indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur
Eruit.

The third line has two very palpable blemishes. First, *robur* has no business there. *Eruit* already has its accusative, *quercum* and *pinum*, and *robur* cannot be made to apply to *pinum*. Secondly, *flamine* wants a balancing epithet. Read :

Indomitus subito contorquens flamine turbo.

The similarity of *subito* to *turbo* (*s* and *r* are regularly confounded in the Catullian MSS.) probably caused the scribe to write *turbo* for *subito* ; then as *turbo* could not occur twice, he looked out for a word to finish the line with, as like *turbo* as possible. This was supplied in *robur*, from a reminiscence of *quercum*. Such are the ways of scribes.

A. PALMER.

PROFESSOR TUCKER'S 'SUPPLICES.'*

PROFESSOR TUCKER'S edition of the *Supplices* of Aeschylus deserves to be heartily and promptly welcomed as an important contribution to our knowledge of Aeschylus, and, indeed, of the language of Greek Tragic Poetry. His criticism of the Text is based on sound principles; and he always has sound reasons to give for his views, reasons which we must recognise as weighty even when they do not carry conviction.

I will begin by putting before my readers what seem to me Mr. Tucker's most valuable contributions to our knowledge of the Text. One of the most attractive is a very simple but brilliant correction, *τορόν τι* for *παρόντι* in v. 219:

εἰ μὴ παρόντι φθόγγος ἦν ὁ σημανῶν.

His method of criticism is so well illustrated by his treatment of this passage that I give it in full in the note.¹

91. Here for *οἷα νεάζει πυθμὴν* he reads *οἷ ἀννεάζει*, which in view of the masculine *πυθμὴν* is far better than Hermann's *οἷα νεάζει*, which is usually accepted.

* The *Supplices* of Aeschylus: a revised Text, with Introduction, Critical Notes, Commentary and Translation, by T. G. Tucker, M.A., Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Melbourne, late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Macmillan, 1889.

¹ "The MS reading *παρόντι* is usually passed over without remark. Burges, who, though a clumsy corrector, was a vigilant critic of sense, suggested

ἀποροῦντι. Morshead renders 'teach the man who stands to hear.' This sounds well in English, but rather represents, e.g. *τῷ ἀκούειν βουλομένῳ* or *ἀκουσμένῳ*; that is to say, the Greek only expresses 'who stands,' and it is precisely the added words 'to hear' (i.e. desirous of hearing) which make the sense. Of the possible renderings—(1) 'if there were no voice to inform one here on the spot'; (2) 'if voice were not the proper means of

95. καὶ διάνοιαν μένολιν M; μαινόλιν, schol. et edd. But the last syllable of διάνοιαν must be short. The best suggestion is Mr. Tucker's ἀλεὰν (ἡλεὰν), a word common in Homer.

102. καρβᾶνα δ' αὐδὰν εὐακόννεις M; εὔ, γᾶ, κοννεῖς edd.; but b has καρβᾶνά δ' αὐδὰν ἐνγαγρόνγεις, whence Mr. Tucker infers καρβάνῃ δ' αὐδᾷ σύν, γᾶ, γνώης, i. e. συγγνώης, and well illustrates the *imesis* in the note; while in the next verse but one—

πολλάκι δ' ἐμπίτνω
ξὺν λακίδι λίνοισιν ἢ
Σιδονίᾳ καλύπτρα

for λίνοισιν ἢ (λίνοισινῃ M) he brilliantly restores λινოსινεῖ, a correction rendered certain by the λινοφθόροι λακίδες of Cho. 27, and ranking high among modern emendations. Many of his conjectures, even those which do not at first sight commend themselves, become attractive when viewed in the light of an apt illustration. In 892 undoubtedly

ἄγοιμ' ἂν εἴ τις τάσδε μὴ ῥαιρήσεται

is a poor threat. The Herald must have been 'the very mildest mannered man' who ever carried out the behests of a tyrannous lord, if he only said, 'I should feel disposed to carry them off unless I am prevented.' Mr. Tucker's μάθοιμ' ἂν for ἄγοιμ' ἂν is exactly paralleled by Eur. *Andr.* 715,

ὥς ἂν ἐκμάθω
εἴ τίς με λύειν τῆσδε κωλύσει χέρας,

which shows that this must have been a form of menace

telling to one who stands face to face,' neither gives any real value to παρόντι. The emendation here offered affords the antithesis (demanded by the foregoing verse), 'it were but right to give (uncertain) guesses, *if there were no voice to tell with certainty once for all.*'

τορός and τορῶς as peculiarly suitable to such telling as shall settle a matter decisively: cf. inf. 248, βραχὺς τορός θ' ὁ μῦθος, Pers. 479, οἶσθα σημήναι τορῶς. TOPONTI would naturally be misread as a dative participle."

as familiar to Greek ears as, 'I will see whether you will prevent me,' is to English. He further reads μ' ἐξαιρήσεται.

So in 355,

δρᾶσαί τε μὴ δρᾶσαί τε καὶ τύχην ἐλεῖν,

the last words can only mean 'to seize an opportunity.' But such a notion is out of place here. There are only two alternatives, δρᾶσαι and μὴ δρᾶσαι; the last words of the verse develop the latter, and should mean 'to take what comes.' Mr. Tucker for ἐλεῖν reads ἐᾶν, comparing Eur. *I. T.* 489,

τὴν τύχην δ' ἐᾶν χρεών.

In 375,

εἴ πού τι μὴ τοῖον τύχοι

would be a certain reading were it not that M inserts καὶ between τι and μὴ. Nothing is easier than to strike it out. But 'how got it in'? I think it is so difficult to answer this question that we should read with Mr. Tucker,

εἴ πού τι κάλλοῖον τύχοι.

For a very similar reason I agree with him in reading in 961,

ἀγνώθ' ὀμιλον, ὡς ἐλέγχεται χρόνῳ,

instead of the easy ἀγνώς ὀμιλος. M has ἀγνώθ' ὀμιλος. The construction is ἐπεγγράψεσθε ὀμιλον ὡς ἐλέγχεται. This proleptic accus. is well illustrated in the note. A very good example may be cited from Soph. *Trach.* 97,

τοῦτο καρῶξαι τὸν Ἀλκμάνας
πόθι μοι ναίει.

In 578,

σπεῦσαι τι τῶν δούλιος φέροι φρήν,

for δούλιος of M he gives λόχιος, 'the *mens gravida* of Zeus which is about to give birth to a word or deed.' This

seems a daring change until the editor points out that ΔΟΧΙΟΣ passed into δούλιος through ΔΟΛΙΟΣ, and adduces two passages (Rhes. 16, 93) in which λόχος has been corrupted into δόλος, or at least δόλος is a variant for λόχος in the MSS.

In 179 there is a good note showing that φυλάσσεσθαι is found with an infinitive only when there is a negative expressed or implied, and that the only instance adduced by the lexicons in support of the positive use of φυλ. with an infinitive (Hdt. vii. 5) is a direct instance to the contrary.

Here are some other notes which show a delicate appreciation of Greek usage:—

304.

τί φῆς ἰκνεῖσθαι τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν;

The genitive cannot be explained on the analogy of στοχάζεσθαι, λαμβάνεσθαι, or δεῖσθαι. He takes θεῶν = πρὸς θεῶν, the genitive of the person *whereby* one implores: cp. Eur. Or. 669:

ταύτης ἰννοῦμαί σ'.

308.

τίς δ' ἂν φίλους ὠνοῖτο τοὺς κεκτημένους;

Here ὠνοῖτο may be retained if φίλους is rightly taken in its characteristic Attic meaning of *relatives*, 'who would care to buy relatives for their lords and masters?' For the use of ὠνοῖτο, cp. πόσιν πρίασθαι, Eur. Med. 231.

In 540 νόσοις ἄθικτον is shown to be, 'not untouched by diseases,' which should be νόσων ἄθ., but 'not to be touched by diseases,' that is, no diseased person must pollute the stream.

In 693 M gives

εὔσημον γὰρ οὐ με λανθάνει
στολμοί τε λαίφους.

By a very slight change Mr. Tucker restores grammar, and introduces an elegant Greek construction, the ignorance of which may well have given rise to the corruption. He reads :

εὔσημοι γὰρ ὥς με λανθάνειν
στολμοί τε λαίφους,

that is, 'too distinct to be mistaken are the dressings of its sails.' He compares νέοι ὥστε διελίσσθαι, Plat. Prot. 314 B, ὀλίγοι ὥς ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι, Xen. Cyr. iv. 5, 15. The most familiar example of this usage is Horace's *ferre iugum pariter dolosi*, an expression borrowed from a passage of Pindar, involving a closely analogous construction, Nem. x. 78 :

παῦροι δ' ἐν πόνῳ πιστοὶ βροτῶν
καμάτου μεταλαμβάνειν,

'faithful enough to bear their share of the burden' (cp. βραχὺς ἐξικέσθαι, 'too little to reach,' *Isth.* vi. 44). Perhaps his most valuable contribution to the meaning of a passage is to be found in the note on 1038 :

τὸ βέλτερον κακοῦ
καὶ τὸ δίμοιρον αἰνῶ,

where δίμοιρον has hitherto been explained as 'half,' or 'mixed, compounded of good and evil.' Mr. Tucker clearly shows that δίμοιρος means 'having a double share,' 'a share of two to one,' 'two shares of good to one of evil.' He points out that διμοιρία = $\frac{2}{3}$, and that ἐπιδίμοιρος = $1\frac{2}{3}$.

On 787 he makes the good remark that ἄχειμος is a

suspicious-looking word, and I wish he had borne this observation in mind when he suggested σκέπαρ (762), ἱκταῖος (52), κατωποσωφρόνων (172). Just at present one welcomes any tendency in an editor to look askance at a new word. So little is Mr. Tucker disposed to view with favour modern theories about the looseness of strophic correspondence that he even goes so far as to postulate a certain anti-strophic correspondence of sense, as well as metre, and applies this principle to the emendation of the *sentiment* of the antistrophe by that of the strophe, *e.g.* of 847-852 by 839-842.

He has not been able to do much for the very corrupt passage 800-870. He does not mention ἡ σὺ δονπεῖς ἀπύτα, Donaldson's very ingenious correction of ἡσυδουπιατάπιτα of M, nor the suggestion that we should introduce χάμψα, the Herodotean (11. 69) word for a crocodile, in περιχαμπὰ βρυνάζεις, 824. Some of his conjectures seem unnecessary, and therefore bad. Others are perhaps bad in themselves, *e.g.* Δαυλίδος, 54; "Ἄλιος . . . " Ἀκμων = *Haliacmon*, 228; μαινολομηγίδεις, 729; στυφελώδεις, 1011; μέγα λῶων, 1017. A conjecture on v. 121, σπέρμα σεμνᾶς με δάμαρτος for σπέρμα σεμνᾶς μέγα ματρός, is attractive until we refer to the place (v. 129) where the same verse is repeated. There the preceding words show the change to be quite unsuitable. In the second passage Professor Tucker silently gives Δίας for σεμνᾶς, as if Δίας were the reading of the MSS. This removes the word, which is fatal to his reading. But whence comes Δίας? And why his silence?

None of his conjectures, however, are capricious, or introduced in a mere revolutionary spirit, or 'out of pure gaiety of heart.' His boldest conjecture, which I fancy he likes best himself, is on 125,

λέχους ἄσεμν' ἐν Ὀπιδι σφάλασα,

which to me is unacceptable for many reasons. In the

first place, though each palæographical change involved in the alteration of M's reading,

ἔχουσα σέμν' ἐνώπι' ἀσφαλές,

is normal enough, yet the coincidence of such a number of errors is very remarkable. Secondly, I think his objections against ἐνώπια, 'side-walls,' have no force. Thirdly, λέχους ἄσεμνα is a very bad way of expressing 'lustful conduct.' Fourthly, we know nothing about the relations of Orion with Opis, and nothing, therefore, to support the theory that there was any myth about any such attempt as Professor Tucker postulates. Finally, we could hardly dispense with the article before σφάλασα, since 'as she foiled' in this sentence would mean 'she that foiled.'

In 240 μητρνῖας δίκη for μνηῖται ἄκη is far from pleasing to me, though I should not be surprised if it were admired, and even appropriated in Germany. Mr. Tucker recognises the principle, that there are some conjectures which have only such a degree of probability as justifies an editor in mentioning them in the note, but not enough to warrant their insertion in the text. Surely this conjecture is of such a character—as likely as any other word or words beginning with μη and having κη near the end, but not more likely. I wonder that such a guess commended itself to the author of that '*eximia et prope invidenda coniectura*,' λακίδι λινοσινεῖ. As to his very daring correction of that most corrupt passage, 969, 970,

καρπώματα στάζοντα κηρύσσει Κύπρις,
καλωρα κωλύουσιν θωσμένην ἐρῶ,

one cannot feel much confidence in a restoration which travels so very far from the *data* of the MSS as

καὶ σώματα στάζοντα κηρύσσει Κύπρις,
κηπωρικὴν λαβοῦσ' ἀνεφεγμένην θύραν,

'once having seen a way opened into the orchard of virginity, Cypris proclaims the ripe fruit inside.'

In favour of another bold emendation, *ἔξοχα πον* for *ἔξ Ἐπάφου* in 568,

Διὸς τόδ' ἔργον καὶ τόδ' ἄν γένος λέγων
ἔξ Ἐπάφου κυρήσας,

it may be fairly urged that the suspected words are out of place, and might well have been suggested by the context, like *θάπτουσα* for *ῥάπτουσα* in Soph. *Ant.* 40, *Epicuri* for *et ecū vi* in Lucr. ii. 42.

The translation is excellent, but it is very difficult to consult it. It would have been quite easy to give at the top of each page, instead of the running title (which is superfluous), a reference to the portion of the text rendered in each page of the translation. I have added these references for my own convenience, and give them here for the convenience of my readers:—Page 201 = verses 1-40; 202 = 41-97, 203 = 98-154, 204 = 155-200, 205 = 201-247, 206 = 248-285, 207 = 286-326, 208 = 327-378, 209 = 379-437, 210 = 438-481, 211 = 482-534, 212 = 535-594, 213 = 595-669, 214 = 670-724, 215 = 725-774, 216 = 775-834, 217 = 835-884, 218 = 885-930, 219 = 931-983, 220 = 984-1041.

ROBERT Y. TYRRELL.

NOTES, CHIEFLY CRITICAL, ON THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES AND THE EPISTLES
PREFIXED TO THEM.

REFERRING to my notes on the Clementine Homilies in HERMATHENA of 1889, I now proceed to give a further instalment, commencing with the documents prefixed to the Homilies.

EPISTLE OF PETER TO JAMES, PREFIXED TO THE
CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.

It is not my intention to enter into the question of the historical relation of this Epistle to the so-called Clementine literature in general, except it may be in an incidental manner. My concern is specially only with the text itself.

Peter, having sent to James the books of his preaching, begs and entreats that they may not be communicated to any Gentile, nor to anyone of their own nation, before trial of his fitness to be a recipient of them. This, he says, was in accordance with the manner in which Moses delivered his instructions to the Seventy Elders, by which means the fruit of safety was up to the present time apparent. By this means their nation had preserved the same rule of the Monarchy and policy, or manner of life, hitherto, so as *κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἄλλως φρονεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλὰ νεουουσῶν γραφῶν ἐξοδευθῆναι δυνηθέντες*. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν παραδοθέντα αὐτοῖς κανόνα τὰ τῶν γραφῶν ἀσύμφωνα πειρῶνται μεταρρυθμίζειν. In this passage, which is taken from

Lagarde's text, the words $\eta\tau\omega\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ have been substituted by Dressel after $\phi\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ for $\upsilon\pi\omicron\tau\omega\nu$. This he adopted from a marginal note in the Ottobonian MS. The sense is good without this alteration. But in both MSS. for $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\phi\omega\nu\alpha$ there is only $\acute{\sigma}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\phi\omega\nu\alpha$, all the editors having prefixed the negative. I think if any change was required it should have been $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\varsigma$, taking $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}\nu$ substantively. But $\acute{\sigma}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\phi\omega\nu\alpha$ itself may be taken adverbially, according to a very frequent usage in these writings, though, of course, the natural tendency is to construe it with $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}\nu$. But even so, we might translate: 'to attune the sayings of the Scripture so as to be harmonious.'

At the commencement of the next section, as printed by all the editors before Lagarde, we read: $\textit{\text{ἵνα γοῦν τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γένηται τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα, ἡμῶν ἀδελφοῖς τὰς βίβλους μου τῶν κηρυγμάτων δὸς κ.τ.λ.}}$ This punctuation is only to make bad Greek for a supposed better meaning. Lagarde removes the comma from its place as above, and puts it after $\gammaένηται$, and then $\textit{\text{τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα}}$ will be construed with the sequel, as the structure of the sentence suggests. Peter supposes James to have so many of the original Seventy of the Gospels with him as to justify this manner of speaking, or he regards the presbyters of James to hold an analogous position to that of the Seventy Elders of Moses. He proceeds to say, that some had already disapproved of his own legal preaching, $\textit{\text{τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου ἄνομόν τινα καὶ φλυαρώδη προσηκάμενοι διδασκαλίαν.}}$ This has been regarded by all as an attack on S. Paul; and an allusion to Gal. ii. 11-13 seems to make the reference clear. For he says that some had, even while he still survives, attempted by various interpretations to transform his own words to the dissolution of the Law, $\textit{\text{ὡς καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ οὕτω μὲν φρονοῦντος, μὴ ἐκ παρρησίας δὲ κηρύσσοντος. ὅπερ ἀπίη.}}$ He says this is to counteract the Law of God spoken by Moses, and testified to by our Lord

in regard to its permanence. And he quotes our Lord's saying in this form : ' the heaven and the earth shall pass away ; one jot, or one tittle, shall not pass away from the Law.' And he adds : ' this he said, *ἵνα τὰ πάντα γίνηται.*' It is thus the words are given in both MSS. ; yet Lagarde has, on his own authority, substituted for *ἵνα* the words *πρὶν ἂν*. The only motive for this would be to bring the saying into a nearer agreement with the words of the Gospel, *ἕως ἂν*. But that is the very reason why Lagarde is wrong. In all this literature Peter is supposed to speak before the Gospels were written, and to quote from his own memory. This affords an opportunity, observable in the whole of these writings, of giving the quotations a turn more in accordance with the writer's views. In the present case *ἵνα* is plainly adopted to enforce the perpetual obligation of the Law.

THE CONTESTATIO.

James, having received the books and Epistle, assembles the presbyters, reads the Epistle to them, and charges them that they are to impart them to none but a good and cautious person, chosen to teach, and being a believer of the circumcision, and not all at once, but by a portion at a time, that the use of the first portion might be approved before the remainder should be given. The recipient is to be proved during not less than six years, and then is to be brought to a river, or fountain of living water, where regeneration takes place, and he is then, not to be adjured, for that is unlawful, but to make an attestation, such as they themselves had made, not to sin, when they were regenerated. Though it is said not to be allowable to adjure, we find that subsequently the person making the attestation says, *κακέϊνον νῦν ὁμνῶμι*. In the former place the word is *ὀρκίσαι*. Perhaps some subtle casuistic

difference was made between these two words, or the kind of oath implied by them. The difference would seem to be, that the one is voluntary, while the person adjured, if he answers at all, answers by the oath administered, and so is obliged to swear. Stephen, s. v. ὁμνυμι, quotes from Xenophon, *Symp.* 4. 10: οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὀρκίζοντος αἰὲς ὁμνύοντες, καλὸν με φαρὰ εἶναι.

The attestation is to be made by calling to witness Heaven, earth, water, and air, in which there seems an imitation of the so-called Orphic oath, which I quote below.¹ He is to impart the books to nobody, neither having written nor given them written, nor giving them to a writer, neither himself, nor by another, nor by any management, craft, or contrivance, ἢ ἀμελῶς φυλάσσω, ἢ τιθῶν, ἢ νεύων, or by any other manner or invention imparting them to another. Here both MSS. and a fragment have the word τιθῶν: the Ottob. MS. is as above; and the Parisian adds in the margin to νεύων *prima manu*, νοθεύων. Cotelierius prints ἢ τι θῶν, which does not mend matters. Leclerc proposed ἢ προστιθεὶς ἢ νοθεύων, which Dressel rightly says is a tautology, and προστιθεὶς is too large a word to substitute. Whether we accept νοθεύων or not, we must either retain τιθῶν, or put something in its place. If we retain it, we should perhaps read καί, instead of ἢ, between it and νεύων, 'laying it down and nodding,' as a hint that it might be looked at. As a possible substitute, one might suggest τήλων, 'vellens': cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 9, 63-4: *vellere coepi—nutans*.

In a later part of the attestation the person who makes it says, that if he should adopt the supposition of another

¹ Ναὶ μὴν ἀθανάτων γεννήτορας αἰὲν ἔδοντας,
Πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ, γαῖαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἡδὲ σελήνην,
'Ἡελίον τε, φάνητα μέγαν, καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν.

God, εἰς ἑτέρου θεοῦ ὑπόνοιαν γένωμαι, i. e. ἑτέρου, not ἄλλου, a second God, he now swears by him, whether he exists or does not exist. The theory of Hilgenfeld and Lehmann is that this Epistle belongs to an earlier period than that of the Homilies, except so far as these embody portions of the supposed earlier *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, which the Epistle was intended to accompany. The oath just mentioned plainly points to the existence of the Marcionite heresy at the time the Epistle was written; while these authors assign the date of the Homilies to a period soon after the rise of that heresy, to counteract which was plainly a main part of their scope. If they are of different authorship, the interval between them could not have been considerable.

EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO JAMES.

Prefixed to the Homilies is the Epistle of Clement, in which he informs James of the death of Peter, of his own ordination by Peter as his successor in the Bishopric of Rome, and how Peter had desired him to send an account of his own history, including his early life, his intercourse with Peter, and the occasion of Peter's martyrdom. Having mentioned this latter event, he says that shortly before, having assembled the brethren, Peter suddenly took him by the hand, and declared his intention of making Clement his successor.

In mentioning the death of Peter, he speaks of him as σαφῶς δημοσίᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνιστῶτος πονηροῦ τὸν ἐσόμενον ἀγαθὸν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ μηνύσας βασιλεία. The resemblance of these words to Gal. i. 4, ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνιστῶτος πονηροῦ, is plain enough. In the second Epitome the word αἰῶνος is added after πονηροῦ in Clement's Epistle. It appears to have been in the copy used by Rufinus, and in an extract in the Parisian Codex, known as 804. But this may have arisen from reminiscence of S. Paul's words; while

βασιλῆως, understood, would fall in with the theory developed in the Homilies, that the present and future ages were assigned to two rulers, the present to the evil, and the future to the good and righteous king. Whichever we adopt, the words are a plain instance of the way in which we find that, notwithstanding a careful ignoring of S. Paul, the writer's mind was imbued with Pauline ideas, and his phraseology with Pauline ways of speaking, which betray either a personal familiarity with the Pauline Epistles, or else with a community that had imbibed these ideas, and adopted a religious dialect founded on such familiarity. Lagarde gives a very copious index of such coincidences, and I have been able to add very many more. They are often mere echoes, and would have no significance singly; but their frequency gives them a significance they would not otherwise always have. It is remarkable also, that the number of such allusions, echoes, and reminiscences derived from the Epistles to the Corinthians are quite equal in number to those from all the other Pauline writings with the Epistle to the Hebrews. This would seem to indicate some special relation of the writer to the Church in Corinth, where, from constant public reading, the Epistles to that Church would be most familiar. The well-known fact that Clement's genuine Epistle to that Church was constantly read there in public would naturally make the writer desirous of attaching the name and authority of Clement to his own doctrinal views. The Epistle to the Galatians comes next to those to the Corinthians in this respect, but the allusions to it are frequently of a controversial nature, as might have been expected.

Peter is then related to have made a discourse on the duties of bishops and the Christian ministry in general, and then of the laity in respect to the ministry. In the course of this discourse he compares the Church to a great

ship carrying men of various regions to settle in some city of a good kingdom. The master is God; the pilot, Christ; the watch at the prow, the bishop; the mariners are the presbyters; the side-officers, the deacons; the crew-gatherers, the catechists; the passengers, the multitude of the brethren; the world is the deep; contrary winds are temptations; persecutions and afflictions are like the heavier waves, *τρικυμνίαις*. Then we read: *τὰ δὲ ἀπόγεια τῶν χειμάρρων καὶ τὰ φύσμηατα ταῖς τῶν πλάνων καὶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν ὁμιλίας*. The Parisian MS. has *ἀπόγεια*. The want of understanding this passage has given rise to great perplexity. The Latin has—‘*ex continente venientes torrentes*,’ which are no cause of danger at all to navigation. Wieseler proposes *τὰ ἀπόγεια τῶν χειμερίων καρτερὰ φύσμηατα*, the off-shore blasts of wintry times. But this grand alteration absurdly reckons amongst the dangers of the sea that which, of all kinds of storm, is the least dreaded by mariners, an off-shore storm, where we should expect to find the opposite. No change is required if we only understand the words. The *ἀπόγεια τῶν χειμάρρων* are not storms at all, but the shoals brought down from the land by the torrents which rush from the hills, and produce shoals in creeks, and bars to harbours. And the *φύσμηατα* are not winds at all, but the swellings of the sea, ground swells, which cover the shoals, and betray the mariner by the appearance of deep water. It is this deceitfulness which forms the point of the comparison with religious deceivers and false prophets. By their pretences and semblance of truth they beguile the unthinking to their destruction. There may also be an allusion in *φύσμηατα* to the boastfulness and swelling words of the false teachers, which may be compared with the *ὑπέρογκα ματαιότητος φθεγγόμενοι δελεάζουσιν* of 2 Peter, ii. 18.

Having compared the earthly rulers that threaten the brethren to projecting rocks and rough places, he then

says: διθάλασσοι δὲ καὶ θηριώδεις τόποι τοῖς ἀλογίστοις καὶ ἐνδοιάζουσι περὶ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπαγγελμάτων. Wieseler expends some needless learning on the word διθάλασσοι, the meaning of which here is plainly the confluence of two seas, which are supposed to make their place of meeting θηριώδης. He does not like what he supposes to be the meaning of this word, savage, and he proposes to read θινώδεις, which would mean having sandy beaches. Nothing could be weaker than this as expressive of any kind of danger to mariners. A good dictionary would show that θηριώδης, when applied to the sea, does not mean fierce or savage, but abounding with marine animals, such as seals, porpoises, sharks, and the like, which the confluence of the waters is supposed to bring together. The stupidity of many of these would correspond to ἀλογίστοις, and the διθάλασσοι to the ἐνδοιάζουσι. Here too all that is wanted is to understand the writer's meaning. No change of text is required. In further pursuit of this similitude, we are told that hypocrites are pirates; sea-sickness and giddiness, tartarean whirlpools, murderous dashings on rocks, and deadly wreckings are the various kinds of sins. To these comparisons is then subjoined the needful advice to the several classes on board the ship. In the course of this he bids the crew-gatherers to put the men in mind of their reward or hire. These, as we saw, are the catechists, who gather men into the Church. The word used is ναυστόλογοι. This should plainly be ναυτόλογοι. The error arises from the similarity to the genuine word ναύστολος.

Peter, having finished his discourse, ordained Clement to be his successor, and commended him to the community of the Roman Church. He then desired Clement that, after his decease, he should send to James an account of his death, of Clement's own history down to the early struggles in his mind on the subject of religion, and of all

his intercourse with Peter as a hearer of his discourses and a witness of his acts. All this was to be drawn up in the form of an epitome, which Clement announces his intention of sending, and which constitutes the materials of the succeeding Homilies. This he entitles 'Clement's Epitome of the Preachings of Peter on his Journeys.'

THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.

HOMILY I.

This Homily begins with an account of Clement's early life, his mental struggles on religious questions; the arrival in Rome of a rumour of the appearance in Judæa of a great religious teacher, working miracles, and promising salvation to those who would be taught by him; and then the subsequent arrival of a seller of sheets, or sails, who openly preached about this rumoured deliverer. One can scarcely help thinking that this was suggested by the Aquila of the Acts of the Apostles, who, having come to Corinth from Italy, there met with S. Paul, and wrought with him, as they were of one trade. By his announcement of the Saviour, Clement is determined to go to Judæa, which he does after some delay. He is driven by adverse winds to Alexandria, and there meets with Barnabas, who soon afterwards goes to Cæsarea, whither he is followed by Clement, who is there introduced by Barnabas to S. Peter, and becomes his constant follower. To give a full account of this most interesting narrative would, however, be beyond the scope of these Papers. I shall only make a general remark on this subject, some particulars of which will turn up, however, in the subsequent notes.

I cannot but think that this whole account of Clement's early religious struggles was suggested to the writer by

Justin Martyr's account of his own early life. Not that there is any direct imitation, for the two narratives are sufficiently distinct to negative any charge of special imitation. I only speak of the general conception of the narrative of Clement's early struggles. I shall notice by-and-by one particular point of contact. But here I shall endeavour to show that the author was acquainted with Justin's writings.

One main design of the writer of the Homilies was to counteract the Marcionite heresy, as represented by Simon Magus. Now, we learn from Irenæus that Justin wrote a book against Marcion, from which Irenæus gives us an extract. In *Adv. Hær.* iv. 14, he says: 'Et bene Justinus in eo libro qui est ad Marcionem ait: Quoniam ipsi quoque Domino non credidissem alterum Deum annuncianti præter fabricatorem et factorem et nutritorem nostrum.' The original Greek of this sentence has been preserved by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 17: Καὶ καλῶς Ἰουστίνος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα συντάγματι φησίν, ὅτι αὐτῷ τῇ Κυρίῳ οὐδ' ἂν ἐπέισθην ἄλλον θεὸν καταγγέλοντι παρὰ τὸν δημιουργόν. How much of the sequel of this sentence belongs to Justin, or whether it is all from Irenæus himself, may be a question of doubt. But the quotation is made in connexion with the text, 'No man knoweth the Father, but the Son,' &c., as misapplied by the Marcionites. And at the close of the paragraph, the text is again repeated, and followed by the words: 'This is the Creator of heaven and earth, as is shown from His discourses, and not that false father that has been invented by Marcion, or Valentinus, or Basilides, or Carpocrates, or *Simon*, or the other falsely-called Gnostics.' Now, if we turn to the latter part of Homily XVIII., we shall find that Simon had been urging this text in the Marcionite way of understanding it, and that Peter, having given his own view of it, and Simon having, in affected horror at what Peter said, respecting the need of our

being 'approved money-changers,' so as to discern the truth in the Scriptures from what was falsely said for our trial, Peter recalls him, and bids him hear one word before he goes (ch. 22): 'I know how you were then shocked when you heard me say, Whoever it be that says anything against the God that created the world, I do not believe him. Hear now something still greater. If, in reality, the God that created the world were such in His sentiment as the Scriptures misrepresent Him, even if in any other way whatever He is incomparably evil, as neither the Scriptures have been able to say, nor any other is able even to imagine, in like manner I shall not cease to worship Him alone and to do His will. For I would have you know, and be persuaded, that he who has no love for his own Creator can neither ever have love to another.' One cannot fail to see that all this is an enlarged imitation of what Irenæus gives us from Justin's book against Marcion. The text from the Gospels, the mention of Simon in connexion with the distinction between the Creator and the Supreme God in the passage of Irenæus, and the quotation of Justin's own words as given above, seems to leave no doubt on the subject, unless we suppose that the writer of the Homilies followed, not Justin himself directly, but the above-quoted passage of Irenæus. Considering the later date of Irenæus, the more probable supposition is that Justin himself was directly imitated. The point of contact between Justin's account of his religious perplexities and that of Clement's will turn up before long in a subsequent note.

HOMILY I. 1.

Amongst the questions which Clement says perplexed him in his early days is the following: καὶ ἄρα ποτε γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι τί ἄρα ἦν. εἰ γὰρ ἦν αἰεὶ, καὶ

ἔσται· εἰ δὲ γέγονεν καὶ λυθήσεται. καὶ μετὰ λύσιν τί ἄρα ἔσται πάλιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ σιγὴ καὶ λήθη; In the second clause of this the editions follow the Parisian MS., τί ἄρα ἦν; but the Ottobon. MS. has ἐρός instead of ἄρα. The word ἐρός is not a likely mistake for ἄρα, but ἄρα would be very apt to be adopted in consequence of the subsequent τί ἄρα ἔσται. The word ἐρός, therefore, probably represents a genuine reading, ἔτι, 'was there anything as yet, or at all'?

HOMILY I. 3.

In his perplexity Clement resorted to the schools of the philosophers. There he found nothing but refutations and establishments of dogmas, strifes, and contentions, artifices of syllogisms and inventions of lemmas. He perceived that hypotheses were supposed true or false according to those who advocated them, καὶ οὐκ ὡς ἔχουσιν ἀληθείας φαίνονται, are not shown that they have truth. This is rather a harsh construction. I should prefer ἔχουσαι. Having found, at last, that a comprehension is formed, not according to the hypotheses advocated, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς ἐκδικοῦντας αἱ δόξαι ἀποφαίνονται, he was then bewildered. Here the MSS. have ἀποφέρονται, which seems to be better than Cotelierius's substitute. Instead of a comprehension of the hypothesis, opinions are brought away on the authority of their advocates.

Now, here we have the point of contact with Justin to which I referred above. Justin tells us, *Tryph.* ii., that those who first touched on philosophy, and were on that account in repute, were followed, on account of their ascetic practices and novel doctrines, without any investigation concerning their truth; ταῦτα ἀληθῆ νομίσαι ἃ παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου ἕκαστος ἔμαθεν. Then also those that afterwards handed down such-and-such doctrines were called after the original authors of the doctrines. The imitation of this in the Homily seems very probable. The similarity is evident.

HOMILY I. 8.

While Clement is in the perplexity just mentioned a rumour pervaded Rome of a great worker of miracles in Judæa, who preached the kingdom of the everlasting God. This was in the spring of the year, and in the autumn of the same year, when already companies had begun to assemble for the purpose of inquiry as to the person and the teaching of this rumoured Jewish teacher, a stranger, in a subsequent Homily described as a seller of sheets, or sails, publicly proclaimed that the Son of God had appeared in Judæa, preaching eternal life to all who desired to obtain it. Clement accordingly determined to go to Judæa, and make inquiry for himself. He sets about settling his affairs, but finds great delay in disentangling them. He then says, as the text is printed by Lagarde: Πέρας γοῦν συννοήσας ὡδίποτε τὴν τοῦ βίου φύσιν ὅτι ἐλπίδι ἐμπλέκων τοὺς σπεύδοντας ἐνεδρεῖται, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅν ποτε εἰσεκλάπην χρόνον ἐλπίσιν δονούμενος, καὶ ὅτι οὕτως ἀσχολούμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκομεν, he leaves everything just as it was, and sets out for Judæa. There are two great difficulties in this passage:—First, ἐμπλέκων is only a conjecture of Leclerc, and it may be dismissed, because entangling with hope is a very improbable idea. Cotelerius prints ἐκπλέκων, which is equally unintelligible. Dressel prints ἐκπλοκῶν from O; and Lagarde, with some doubt, says it is the reading of both MSS. But in this form it is also unintelligible. Wieseler would read ἐκκλέπτων, or ἐκκλοπῶν, as suggested by the εἰσεκλάπην in the next clause. But this change is not necessary. All that is needed is to divide the ἐκπλοκῶν of the MSS. into two words, ἐκ πλοκῶν, and to construe it with σπεύδοντας; ‘the business of life beguiles with hope those who are hastening out of entanglements.’ Then, in the next clause, the word εἰσεκλάπην seems an

impossible expression. Wieseler would read ἐξεκλάπην. Here, too, I think all that is necessary is to divide εἰσεκλάπην into two words, reading εἰς for εἰς, ‘considering how much time I, one, have been robbed of, and that thus busied we men are dying off.’ Here the εἰς would stand in opposition to men in general—‘I, for one, have been robbed of much time, and we are all dying off.’ These proposed variations seem to give a good sense, with the least possible alteration of the text of the MSS.

HOMILY I. 10.

Clement, having sailed for Judæa, is carried by contrary winds to Alexandria. There he hears of Barnabas, who was preaching, the rumoured deliverer, and Clement goes to hear him. When he is mocked by the philosophers, and assailed with silly questions, Barnabas says :—‘We have only a commandment to tell you the words and wonderful works of Him that sent us, and instead of logical demonstration, we offer you many witnesses,’ τῶν ἐξ ὑμῶν παρεστώτων πολλούς, ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ εἶδη μέμνημαι, ὡς ἐμψύχους εἰκόνας ἱκανὰς μαρτυρίας. Here Schwegler would transpose the article, and read ἐξ ὑμῶν τῶν παρεστώτων. This would be an improvement, but is scarcely necessary. But Wieseler says, *Mea quidem sententia verba ἐξ ὑμῶν adnotata erant ad verba τῶν παρεστώτων a lectore aliquo, significaturo, non esse cogitandum de iis qui orationibus et miraculis Christi interfuisent, sed de iis, qui inter auditores Barnabæ essent.* Nothing could be more uncalled for than this suggestion. Whether with or without ἐξ ὑμῶν, it is evident that persons standing by who had seen our Lord’s miracles were intended, and Barnabas is represented as recognizing them. These are not like lifeless statues testifying to past events, but living statues, ample testimonies. Similarly Eulogius, a writer of the sixth cen-

tury (apud Phot. Bibliothec. cclxxx. p. 1620), describes the man that was resuscitated by touching the bones of Elisha as *ἐμψυχος στήλη καὶ ἀπόδειξις τοῖς τῶν ἀγίων [ὁστέοις!] προτεθειμένος*. Just before, at the close of the preceding chapter, Clement says that Barnabas ‘offered many witnesses of the miracles and words related by him, even out of the very crowd that was standing by.’ Clement himself makes a speech in favour of Barnabas, and at last, when he is buffeted by the mob, Clement brings him to his own lodgings. After a short time Barnabas says he is in haste to Judæa, to keep a festival of the Jews. Clement would go with him, only he has some delay to recover a debt, but will follow him at once. This he does, without waiting to finish his business, and at last arrives at Cæsarea, where he finds Barnabas, and is at once introduced to Peter, who welcomes and embraces him, having learned his history from Barnabas. A conversation then ensues, and Peter discourses to him about the true prophet, Clement giving a brief sketch of this discourse.

HOMILY I. 18.

In this chapter we find Peter saying, as printed by Lagarde: *τοιαῦτα μυρία κακά, ὥσπερ καπνοῦ πληθος, ὡς ἓνα οἶκον οἰκοῦντα τὸν κόσμον, τῶν ἔνδοθεν οἰκοῦντων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιθολώσαντα τὰς ὀράσεις οὐκ εἶασεν ἀναβλέψαντας . . . γνωρίσαι*. Both MSS. have *ἐπιθολῶσαν*; but Lagarde has borrowed *τα* from the *τάς* following. He adds rightly that the *οἰκοῦντα* is still corrupt. I think the original reading must have been *ὡς ἓνα οἶκον ὄντα τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἔνδοθεν οἰκοῦντων*. The comma after *κόσμον* should be removed, and *οἶκον* be made the accusative after *οἰκοῦντων*. The rendering would then be: ‘Dimming the eyes of the men within, inhabiting as it were one house, namely, the world.’ We can well understand how, from the *οἶκον* preceding *ὄντα*, the latter

would have become *οικοῦντα*. Another remedy would be to read *οικοῦντων* for *οικοῦντα*, and then to omit *οικοῦντων* afterwards as a vain repetition caught by the eye from the preceding word. In either case we might let the *ἐπιθωλῶσαν* of the MSS. remain, without adding the plural affix, as it might then agree with *πληθος*, the existence of *οικοῦντα* being the reason for making it plural.

In the next sentence we are told it is therefore necessary that the lovers of truth within should cry out with all their might, that some one, *ἐντὸς ὧν τοῦ οἴκου*, should come and open the door. This manuscript reading *ἐντός* is so absurdly incorrect that Schwegler first proposed to read *ἐκτός*, and Lagarde has adopted this in his text.

The Recognitions, i. 15, have ‘velut fumus quidam immensus universam mundi hujus domum replevit, et habitantibus intrinsecus intuendi conditorem suum aspectum liberum non dedit.’ And then, ‘auxilium invocent ejus, quem solum domus fumo repleta non claudit.’

HOMILY I. 20.

Clement, in this chapter addressing James, says of this discourse, just spoken of, as an ordinary reader would suppose: *πλὴν γράψας τὸν περὶ προφήτου λόγον αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἀπὸ Καισαρείας τῆς Στράτωνος, διαπεμφθῆναί σοι ἐποίησεν τὸν τόμον*. This passage is grammatically incorrect and untranslatable. It suits the theory of Hilgenfeld and Lehmann to suppose that the discourse about the true prophet here meant was not that now mentioned, which one would naturally think, but some previous discourse which Peter had, on a former occasion, sent to James. Accordingly, they propose to omit the words *αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος* as an interpolation of a scribe. For this there could be no possible temptation, as the sentence without these words would be plain enough. I submit,

that it is not justifiable to omit so considerable an expression, merely to sustain a theory, contrary to the plain tendency of the narrative, if a much slighter variation will make the passage grammatically correct. This can be done by reading *γράφαι* for *γράφας*. All will be then clear. 'But he, having commanded to write the discourse concerning the true prophet (namely, the discourse that Clement had just described), he caused it to be sent to thee.' This manner of construction, in which the subject of a sentence appears as a genitive absolute, and is then followed by a personal verb, is well known. It appears in Matt. i. 18, with a clause intervening, is common in the Shepherd of Hermas, and, indeed, is quite familiar. We have it in an inverted form in the fifth chapter of this Homily, *καὶ πείσω . . . ἐμοῦ ὡς περὶ πράγματός τινος πυνθανομένου*. Also we find in a direct form in ch. 15, *ἐπιβάντος δέ μου τῆς γῆς, καὶ ξενίαν θηρουμένου, ἔμαθον, κ. τ. λ.* Clement assigns in the above passage, as a reason for only giving an abstract of the discourse Peter had made to himself respecting the true prophet, that it had been already sent by Peter to James, having been written out by his desire. Peter is now satisfied that Clement is convinced on this subject, and Clement assures him, that even if Peter himself were to bid him revolt from the true prophet he would not be tempted to do so.

That the *αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος* existed in the copy of this passage used by the writer of the Recognitions is evident, as also that it was Clement who wrote out the discourse intended, and that it was what the abstract given by both Homilies and Recognitions epitomizes, and not some previous writing transmitted by Peter, will be plain from the words of the Recognitions, 'Unde jubente eo, ea quae ad me locutus est, in ordinem redigens, librum de vero propheta conscripsi, eumque de Caesarea ad te, ipso jubente transmisi.' And it will be observed that here

Clement makes himself the transmitter of that document. Dressel, leaving the *γράφας* of the Homily stand, proposes, in accordance with the Recognitions, to read *ἐποίησα*. But then in the next clause, where it is said of Peter, *παρά σου ἐντολὴν ἔχειν εἰπών*, it is necessary, as Dressel proposes, to read *εἰπόντος*. To read, as I have proposed, *γράψαι* for *γράφας* is a far less alteration of the existing text, and therefore to be preferred. And we may well suppose that Rufinus, who was by no means a literal translator, gives the sense of the passage, whatever reading he may have had before him. It is plain he understood Clement to have been the writer, and the writing to have been the very discourse just made to him by Peter, of which he has given us only an abstract in the Homily.

HOMILY II. 1.

Clement is represented in this chapter as giving the names of Peter's companions, who were, he says, sixteen in number, from which he excludes himself, no doubt as he was a comparative stranger, and not yet baptized. The names are given in pairs, and six of them are clearly New Testament personages. In the several pairs, where only one is a New Testament person, his name is put first. The first thing that seems strange is the apparent absence of Barnabas. He was with them the previous night, and it was he that introduced Clement. It would seem to me that the Joseph mentioned as first of the second pair is meant for Barnabas. Joseph is the approved reading of his name in Acts, iv. 36. If we now turn to the Recognitions, we have in ii. 1, a list of names, in all said to be thirteen. This number is made up by reckoning Peter himself, Phineas, and Nicodemus, not mentioned in the Homily, as well as Nicetas, Aquila, and Clement. Again, iii. 68, we have the same names, twelve in all, excluding

Peter. Peter then separates four of these—Zacchæus to be Bishop of Cæsarea, and Clement, Nicetas, and Aquila to be his personal attendants, and then, to make out twelve for general purposes, he adds four, Benjamin, the son of Saba, who is in the list of the Homily as the son of Safra; and Ananias, the son of Safra, who is a Jamnite in the Homily; Zacharias, a builder, and one Rubelus, called a brother of Zacchæus, but who appears in the Homily under the name of Geroublius, not as his brother, but as a builder in conjunction with Zacharias. These four names, added to the previous twelve, make sixteen in all. But then Clement is included, while he is excluded from the list of sixteen in the Homily. Thus we have these names in the Recognitions, not in the Homily list, while we have in the latter Thomas the twin, Æneas, and Angæus, a Jamnite, not in the former. It is plain from all this that the Homily does not follow the Recognitions in this list, nor the Recognitions the Homily, nor both some common document. So far they are quite independent.

Having thus established the mutual independence of the two lists, we may turn to the Rubelus of the Recognitions, and the Geroublius of the Homily. This latter is certainly an odd and improbable name, but it appears not only in the Homilies, but in the older epitome, with this difference, that in the MS. of Cotelerius of the Homilies it begins with X, instead of Γ. This form of the name appears therefore very ancient, and I can hardly doubt that the Rubelus of the Recognitions was a guess of Rufinus to make an intelligible name out of some corrupted form. The editors of the Homilies have, no doubt, been led to follow Rufinus by reading Γερούβλιος as γε 'Ρούβλιος; but I think it may safely be said, that a particle so significant in its proper use, and so entirely out of place here, was never used by the writer of the Homilies, and Lagarde therefore makes it τε. Cotelerius,

Apost. Const. vi. 3, where the Rubenites, *Ρουβηνίται*, are mentioned, gives a various reading, *Ρουβηλίται*.

The tendency to bring in New Testament personages may be illustrated by the seller of sheets or sails whom Clement, Hom. v. 23, mentions as having preached at Rome, and whom we might identify with the Aquila of the Acts, who, having come from Italy, as he was of the same trade as S. Paul, wrought with him at Corinth, Acts, xix. 2.

HOMILY II. 15.

There is a passage in this chapter which is attended with some difficulty. It is thus given in Dressel's text—*διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ προφῆται ἐπομένως ὡς τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος ὄντες υἱοί, ἀνθρώπων τὴν γνῶσιν ἔχοντες, ἐπέρχονται*. This, though translatable, does not give a satisfactory sense. First of all, the *οἱ* after *διὰ τοῦτο* is out of place. The writer plainly did not mean to distinguish prophets in this world from any supposed prophets in the world to come, and he as plainly does not mean the Gentile prophets, as distinguished from the true, of whom he is speaking as supervening on the former ignorance. The article which Dressel adopted from O is therefore rightly omitted by Lagarde. Instead of *ἐπομένως* O has *ἐπόμενοι*; but it makes no material difference which we adopt. For the contraction *ανων*, the usual form in the MSS. for *ἀνθρώπων*, Cotelierius suggests to read *αἰωνίων*, having the knowledge of eternal things, which seems very unmeaning, just after saying that they were the sons of the world to come. Dressel then proposes a transposition of words, which is a violent proceeding. He would read 'as the sons of men,' which is here quite unmeaning. We naturally expect a previous member of the syzygy to which the true prophets succeed, but of which the text, as it exists, gives us no

mention. They supervene, but we are not told on what. This is supplied by reading τοῖς ἀνθρώπων τὴν γνῶσιν ἔχουσι. 'The present world is feminine, as a mother of children—bringing forth souls: the world to come is masculine, as a father welcoming his own children. Hence in this world prophets following, as being sons of the world that is to be hereafter, supervene on those that have the knowledge of men,' *i. e.* on those whose knowledge is merely human, such as men can acquire for themselves without Divine revelation.

HOMILY II. 17.

This chapter begins thus, as printed by Dressel: ὁμοίως ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Ἠλίαν συζυγία ὀφείλουσα ἐλθεῖν ἐκοῦσα ἀπελείφθη εἰς ἕτερον καιρόν, ἄλλοτε εὐκαιρῶς αὐτὴν ἀπολαβεῖν βουλευσαμένη. Here for γὰρ Wieseler proposes to read γε, which seems to be quite out of place. Lagarde reads γὰρ ἡ, instead of the ἡ γὰρ of P. This is plainly wrong, for it necessitates connecting ὁμοίως with the words immediately following, which, however, note a difference instead of similarity. What is needed is a pause after ὁμοίως, the ἡ γὰρ then explaining the reason for pausing—'In like manner, for the syzygy relating to Elias, when it ought to have come, was designedly left off for a season; at another time in good season designing to resume itself.' We should thus connect ὁμοίως with ἄλλοτε, or with the entire passage, but not with ἡ γὰρ. The syzygy is suspended in the case of Elias until he appears again in the person of John the Baptist. Hence the writer proceeds: 'therefore also he that was amongst those born of women came first, then He that was amongst the sons of men came second.' It will be seen that the pause after ὁμοίως makes all quite clear. In translating I have followed the reading ἀπολαβεῖν, adopted without remark by Lagarde,

and therefore possibly that of both MSS., instead of the ἀπολαύειν which Dressel adopts as the reading of O. Following this latter reading, Wieseler would read αὐτῆς. If we are to make a change, it would be better to let αὐτήν stand as it is, and to read εὐκαιρίας for εὐκαίρως, and to translate 'designing that it should enjoy a fit season at another time.' For either reading I think αὐτήν would be better than αὐτήν.

HOMILY II. 19.

The last sentence, of the Syrophenician woman, is manifestly incorrect—οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐθνικὴν οὖσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ μένουσαν, ὃ τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξεῖναι θεραπεύειν ὥς ἐθνικὴν, ἐθνικὴν μένουσαν ἐθεράπευεν. Wieseler does not know well how to correct this, but with his love of great alterations suggests to read μὴ ἀνύσας (sc. τὸ θεραπεύειν). I leave it to himself to make what sense he can out of the passage thus altered. There is nothing needed to make good sense but to remove the comma before ὃ τὴν ἀρχήν, and to reject the article ὃ. Then we have good sense, though condemnable iteration. 'For as being an ethnic, and remaining in the same way of living, He would not have cured her at all, having remained an ethnic, on account of its not being allowable to cure her as an ethnic.' I have given τὴν ἀρχήν the sense of 'at all'; the Latin translation makes 'at first,' retaining the ὃ, and rendering 'qui id initio non fuerat,' and it was, no doubt, to give effect to this that Wieseler proposed his μὴ ἀνύσας, which is not a likely manner of expression. The small change I have suggested seems sufficient. But the double ἐθνικὴν seems an accidental repetition, and the first of the two, with the comma, might be omitted.

HOMILY II. 20.

The Syrophenician woman having been cast off by her husband, and given her daughter in marriage, we then read : ἡ δὲ καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς προφάσει γάμον στερηθεῖσα δύο παῖδας ὠνησαμένη, κ. τ. λ. The translators make this cum propter filiam nuptiis se abstineret, &c. I should have thought there was but one way of translating this, 'when, by reason of marriage, she was deprived of her daughter.'

HOMILY II. 35.

Zacchæus comes in early, and announces that Simon postpones the discussion to the next day—ἡ γὰρ σήμερον τὸ δι' ἑνδεκα ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει σάββατον. The Recognitions, in the version of Rufinus have : Differt Simon certaminis diem in undecimum mensis præsentis, quæ est post septem dies, i. 20. This seems to denote a later hand, whether of Rufinus or the compiler of the Recognitions, to evade a difficulty. Cotelerius remarks of the Sabbath, as expressed by the Homily, de isto Sabbato Simoniano legisse me memoria non teneo. But I think we can account for this Sabbatical observance. In Hom. ii. 23 we are told that the Simonian body, the formation of which is in this book ascribed to John, who is called an ἡμεροβαπτιστής, consisted of thirty. As our Lord had twelve disciples, answering to the number of months in the year, so He had thirty, answering to the days of the month. And as the woman is an imperfect man, and there is an imperfect day in the Moon's return to the Sun, so He had introduced one woman, namely, Helena, into the body of the company. It was to this number of thirty disciples that Origen referred, Celsus i. 57, where he says of all the followers of Simon in his day : οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἶμαι τριά-

κοντα. A weekly Sabbath would not in any way correspond with this number. Hence, instead of this, he might have divided the month into three decades, as the Athenians did theirs. Each Sabbath would then be the eleventh day, reckoning the preceding one. This I take to be the meaning of δι' ἑνδεκα ἡμερῶν, 'within eleven days.'

Peter sends word to Simon, as in the Parisian MS.: ἐπεὶ τελείως θέλεις, μετὰ τοῦ γινώσκειν ὅτι σοι ἡμεῖς, ὅτε βούλει, θεοφιλεῖ προνοίᾳ ἀπαντᾶν ἐτοίμως ἔχομεν. Here O. has ἐπιτελειῶς, which is nonsense, and Lagarde reads, as Leclerc after Davies suggests, ἐπιτέλει ὥς. This is an elegant conjecture, made before the reading of O was known. Still the verb ἐπιτέλει is scarcely suitable to the occasion. Had the discussion commenced on a previous day it would have been very suitable, but it had not yet begun, and a much simpler word was to be expected. I should prefer to read εἴπερ for ἐπεὶ, 'let it be so,' being quite naturally understood. The meaning would then be: 'If you absolutely wish, when you know that, with God's help, we are ready to meet you whenever you like.' He seems to hint to Simon that he would be glad to evade the discussion, and had therefore postponed it, in the hope that the next day would not suit Peter's arrangements. Peter therefore says nothing of the next day, but tells him he is ready to meet him on any day he likes.

HOMILY II. 43.

Clement was disappointed at the postponement, but Peter tells him it was, by God's providence, all for the best. He had some of his followers who pretended to be followers of Simon, and thus enabled Peter to know the line of discussion Simon was likely to pursue, and now the delay enables him to give information to Clement which would better prepare him to derive advantage from the

discussion. Simon's method was by a literal interpretation of the anthropomorphic expressions used in reference to God, to charge evil actions and a defective nature against the God of the Old Testament. Peter goes at length into this subject. In the chapter at the head of this note he asks a number of questions, all formed similarly. Amongst them are—*εἰ δὲ κακὰ κτίζει, καὶ τίς ἀγαθὰ πράξει; εἰ δὲ κακὰ ποιεῖ, καὶ τίς ἀγαθὰ;* the Ottob. MS. has in the first clause of the latter question *εἰ δὲ καὶ κακά*. The *δέ* is wanting in O., and Lagarde, retaining it, omits the *καὶ* without remark. It is probable that Dressel misread the MS. Wieseler is greatly shocked at the *καὶ* in each clause, as at the apparent repetition of the two parallel questions, and he supposes there is a conflation of two recensions; but he was very stupid not to notice the difference between the verbs *κτίζει* and *ποιεῖ*. The one denotes the original creation—God did not create things originally evil. The other refers to the actions and passions ascribed to God in the Biblical history, such as anger, jealousy, and the like. Peter thinks these expressions were interpolations, but he must not let that appear, if he can help, in the discussion with Simon. For the author of the Homilies does not represent Peter as influenced by a very high sense of controversial honesty.

HOMILY III. 6.

Peter says that if one who denied God, or committed impiety, should afterwards turn and repent, he should be saved, but be also punished for the impiety. He then adds, as Lagarde has emended from the Syriac: *ἵσως δέ, εἰ (ἢ P.) τῆς εὐσεβείας ὑπερβολὴ καὶ τῆς ἰκεσίας ἥ (ἢ P.), καὶ τοῦ κολασθῆναι ἀπολυθῆσθαι, συγγνώμης τῆς ἁμαρτίας μετὰ τῆς μετανοίας δεδωκὼς τὴν ἄγνοιαν*. This cannot be translated in its present form. Various suggestions have been made,

the least violent of which is Duncker's, to substitute τὴν αἰτίαν for τῆς ἁμαρτίας. But this leaves out the occasion of the punishment, notwithstanding final salvation. A simpler remedy is to read συγγνώμην, instead of συγγνώμης. This word, by a natural metonymy, is used as an excuse, and appears to have been a legal term, equivalent to the Latin *deprecatio*, as a plea to get off from punishment: see Steph. Gr. Thes. s. v. It is this usage of the word that occasions *ignorantia* to be given as a meaning of συγγνώμη in Labbe's Glossary. We should then render: 'But perhaps, if there be an excess of piety and supplication, he shall even be freed from being punished, having offered ignorance, together with repentance, as an excuse for the sin.'

Peter proceeds to say: 'But those who have not repented shall likewise have their end, through the punishment of fire, even though in all other respects they are most holy. But, as I was saying (*i. e.* what he had just said, τὸ τέλος ἔξουσιν), μεμετρημένου αἰῶνος τὸ πέμπτον πυρὶ αἰωνίῳ κολασθέντες ἀποσβεσθήσονται. For τὸ πέμπτον, which Wieseler says is not to be endured, τὸ πλείστον and περιτόν have been suggested. But critics have no right to reject a reading that is grammatically correct, merely because they do not like what is said. The fifth part of a measured æon is no doubt arbitrary, but so is the whole doctrine. A measured æon would probably be some period of years numbered by some power of ten, and as ten is only subdivided by two and five, the fifth part would be reasonably selected.

HOMILY III. 7.

In this chapter Peter begins, ἡ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσίβειά ἐστιν τὸ ἐν τῷ τῆς θεοσεβείας λόγῳ ὄντα τελευτᾶν λέγοντα, κ. τ. λ. The translators make this—'in ea circa religionem opinione

mori qua dicitur alium esse Deum.' Nothing could be more absurd; there is no impiety in dying, more than in living, in a false belief. First of all, the commencing article is emphatic, *the* impiety, q. d. the real impiety. He had just spoken of the impiety that existed first, but was followed by repentance. He now says the real impiety is that one, being in the doctrine of piety, should *end* in saying that there is another God. As in the former case, the impiety was first, and the change afterwards; here piety existed first, but the man ends in impiety. There is no reference to death, but to a lapse into impiety after previous piety. Of course a man might die in it, or repent again, but it is the lapse from truth that is intended. This manner of speaking is common with Dio Chrysostom. Thus *τελευτῶντες ἐλεοῦμεν*, 'in the end we pity.' See vol. ii. p. 144, ed. Reiske.

HOMILY III. 8.

The article *τὴν* is needful in the third line before *πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων*. 'Endeavouring to sow in the souls of those Gentiles that are likely to believe the immortal-making love of one only God, *τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων*, I mean that of men towards Him, as distinguished from His love to them.'

HOMILY III. 19.

In the sentence *μέλλοντος γὰρ αἰῶνος βασιλεὺς εἶναι κατηξιωμένος πρὸς τὸν νῦν ἐμπροθέσμως* (P.) *παρειληφότα νόμῳ τὴν βασιλείαν*, a finite verb is wanted. Supply *ἦν* after *κατηξιωμένος*, and read with O. *ἐμπροθέσμως*, supplying *ι* under the *ω*. 'For He had been thought worthy to be king of a future age, as against him who now has received the kingdom by a law subsisting for a fixed period.' Lagarde has dots after

βασιλείαν, but does not say there is a lacuna. He reads ἐμπροθέσμῳ.

HOMILY III. 47.

Peter says that the Law ἐν τῷ μετὰ Μωσέα χρόνῳ, ὡς γε ἔτη που πεντηκόσια ἦ καὶ πρόσ, ἐν τῷ καθαρισθέντι ναῷ κείμενος εὑρίσκεται, καὶ μεθ' ἑτερά που πεντηκόσια ἔτη φέρεται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ οὕτως ἐνπρησθεὶς ἀπόλλυται. This is Lagarde's text, who has by his own conjecture substituted καθαρισθέντι for κτισθέντι. Now, the two periods of 500 years would, in a lax manner of speaking, pretty well agree with the building of Solomon's temple and its destruction. But then the finding of the Book of the Law in the temple in Josiah's time seems pretty plainly intended. If, then, we adopt the reading καθαρισθέντι with Lagarde we must suppose a very large addition to the first 500 years, to be expressed by the ἦ καὶ πρόσ. Assuming this, the second 500 years is quite impossible. If we read for the second πεντηκόσια, πεντήκοντα, this with the που would be pretty correct. The preceding πεντηκόσια would account for the scribe substituting the same word for πεντήκοντα. The word ἑτερα, instead of ἄλλα, may, however, be thought to indicate a second period of 500 years.

HOMILY III. 61.

The last sentence needs correction—τὸ δὲ πάντας φιλαρχοῦντας ἐνὶ μόνῳ ὑπεῖξαι μὴ θέλιν, καὶ αἰτία διαιρέσεως πάντως καὶ περιπεσεῖν ἔχουσιν. Turrianus appears to have read αἰτίαν, which Wieseler adopts, putting τοῦ before περιπεσεῖν. This makes the construction harsh, requiring τὸ δὲ, κ. τ. λ. to be object of ἔχουσιν, unless we were to read τῷ for τό. A similar form is the subject in the previous sentence, which should be followed here. Make αἰτία a nominative

instead of dative, and for πάντως read πάντες, and then translate: 'But that all being ambitious to rule, should not wish to submit to one only, is both a cause of dissension, and all are disposed to fall foul of one another.' In καὶ αἰτία the καὶ would carry with it the verb substantive understood. Lagarde follows Cotelarius in reading πεσεῖν, instead of περιπεσεῖν, as in O. The latter is more significant, and the omission of the περι a far more likely error to occur, than its addition.

J. QUARRY.

NOTES ON THE *TRISTIA*.

THE following emendations have suggested themselves while perusing Mr. Owen's recent edition of the *Tristia*, and the review of that work by Dr. Ellis in the present number of *HERMATHENA*.

II. 125.

Cuius in eventu poenae clementia tanta est,
Venerit ut nostro lenior illa metu.

I suggest *in electu*. Cf. *Her.* 2. 144: '*In necis electu parva futura mora est.*' *Venerit* jars greatly with *eventu*, and probably caused the latter reading.

II. 357, 358.

Nec liber indicium est animi, sed honesta voluntas :
Plurima mulcendis auribus apta ferēs.

I would read :

Carmina mulcendis auribus apta fere.

Plus begins the preceding pentameter, and may have caused *plurima*.

2. 381.

Omne genus scripti gravitate tragoedia vincit :
Haec quoque materiam semper amoris habet.

The latter line contains a statement that is not true. What of the Prometheus, Septem, Persae, Choephoroe, Eumenides? Of the Philoctetes, Oedipus at Colonus, Electra? Of the Bacchae, Orestes, Troades, Hecuba? Love is not in any sense the subject of these plays, nor of many others. I suggest *saepe ruboris*, which suits the context better.

II. 473, 474.

Quid valeant tali, quo possis plurima iactu
Figere, damnosos effugasque canes.

Figere is a curious expression, and *vincere*, 'win,' has been suggested. But Juvenal 9. 139, *quando ego figam aliquid*, is sufficient to defend *figere*.

II. 553, 554.

Et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale coturnis,
Quaque gravis debet verba coturnus habet.

The repetition of *coturnus* in the pentameter, after *coturnis* in the hexameter is, in my judgment, un-Ovidian. If Ovid had written like that, we should not to-day be reading him, or amending his text. He is referring to his tragedy *Medea*. It would be easy enough to substitute *Corinthus* for *coturnus* in 554. The plot of the *Medea* was probably laid in Corinth. But the epithet *gravis* does not suit Corinth, nor would Corinth be spoken of as the main subject of the play. I, therefore, look for the corruption in the hexameter. Ovid probably intended to say that he gave 'a stately composition to tragic actors to perform;' and remembering that *caterva* denoted a company of actors, I surmise that he wrote CATERVIS.

III. 3. 21.

Si iam deficiat sub crasso lingua palato,
 Vix instillato restituenda mero,
 Nuntiet huc aliquis dominam venisse, resurgam,
 Spesque tui nobis causa vigoris erit.

The MSS. generally have *deficiam snppressaque lingua palato*. Mr. Owen's reading seems to me impossible. I should suggest

Si iam deficiam suppressaque lingua *lababit*, &c.

III. 6. 15.

Sed mea me in poenam nimirum fata trahebant ;
 O mala ne claudant utilitatis iter !

L, the best MS., gives in the pentameter *Omne bonae claudens*, which I would keep. The lines should, in my opinion, run :

Sed mea me in poenam nimirum *Parca* trahebat
 Omne bonae claudens utilitatis iter.

For *Parca mea* cf. *Pont.* 3. 7. 20 ; *Parcaque ad extremum, qua mea coepit, eat*. Here the accidental change of *trahebat* to *trahebant* seems to have caused the change of *Parca* to *fata*.

III. 6. 29, *seqq.*

Mensque reformidat, veluti sua vulnera, tempus
 Illud, et admonitu fit novus ipse pudor :
 Sed quaecumque adeo possunt afferre pudorem,
 Illa tegi caeca condita nocte decet.

Pudor should, I think, be *pavor*. Ovid was not ashamed, but alarmed, when he thought of the secret of which he

had become aware. For *adeo*, in line 31, read *alio* : 'what-ever may cause shame to another.' Why then did not Ovid write *alii*? Because *alio* is more vague—'in another quarter.' Neither number nor sex are expressed by *alio*. The line is an echo of Propertius's *alio transferre calores*.

IV. 5. 31, 32.

Sic iuuenis similisque tibi sit natus, et illum
Moribus agnoscat quilibet esse tuum.

Iuuenis must be wrong, and I think that *uiuens* should be substituted for it. *vivens sit* is a legitimate paraphrase for *vivat*.

V. 7. 53, 54.

Unus in hoc nemo est populo, qui forte Latine
Quaelibet e medio reddere verba queat.

I stumble at *forte*, and should like to read *fonte Latino* : 'there is not a soul here who can repeat a single word from the ordinary Latin fount.' Cf. Horace's *Graeco fonte*, A. P. 53. Then *e medio fonte* is like *medio de fonte* of Lucretius.

V. 10. 37-42.

Barbarus hic ego sum, qui non intellegor ulli,
Et rident stolidi verba Latina Getae:
Meque palam de me tuto male saepe loquuntur,
Forsitan obiciunt exiliumque mihi.
Utque fit, in se aliquid statui, dicentibus illis
Abnuerim quotiens annuerimque, putant.

The MSS. give *me* for *se* in the fifth verse; for *statui*, which is a conjecture of Mr. Owen's, they give generally *si quid*, or *siquidem*. What did the Goths think when Ovid nodded, or shook his head? I think they thought he

was out of his mind. It is characteristic of crazy people to nod. I propose :

Utque fit, in me aliquid *linqui*, dicentibus illis
Abnuerim quotiens annuerimque, putant.

'aliquid linqui,' 'that there is something wanting,' 'that I am not all there. Cf. *Her.* 2. 130: '*Lingvor* et ancillis excipienda cado.'

V. 13. 5, 6.

Perque dies multos lateris cruciatibus uror.
Scilicet immodico frigore laesit hiemps.

Scilicet is Mr. Owen's. This emendation fails, as several of Mr. Owen's fail, owing to its want of *junctura*. The majority of the MSS. give *sed quod in immodico*. I suggest, removing the stop at *uxor*

Saeua quod immodico frigore laesit hiemps.

Mr. Owen goes somewhat out of his way to lay down the law as to several passages of the *Heroides*. In several of these I am sure he is mistaken, and I cannot let his words pass without protest. *Her.* x. 86 :

Forsitan et fulvos tellus alat ista leones ;
Quis scit an et saevas tigridas insula habet ?

On this Mr. Owen says : 'manum emendatricem recte abstinuerunt Sedlmayerus et Ehwaldius.' Now, to waive for a moment the indicative mood, and to admit (which I do not) that it is defended by the instances produced by Mr. Owen, the elision of *insula* is fatal to Mr. Owen's view. In all the ten thousand pentameters written by Ovid there are, if I mistake not, only two elisions of a word before the final dissyllable. One of these is from the *Tristia* (4. 2. 54), *resistere equos*, a reminiscence of Propertius ; the other,

addere aquas, from the *Epistles from Pontus* (1. 8. 46), and Mr. Owen surely does not think a licence from either of these works is sufficient to defend a licence in the *Heroides*. But Mr. Owen tells us we now have an 'auctor gravissimus' in Planudes. What does Mr. Owen mean by this? Does he mean that the Greek version of Planudes, made at the end of the thirteenth century, gives us any help whatever towards establishing the text of Ovid, further than that it may, at the most, here and there, assist us in arriving at the reading of the mediæval archetype, to which all the Ovidian MSS. of the *Heroides* point? We knew already what the reading of that archetype was from better MSS. than Planudes translated, and without his help, here. The archetype itself was corrupt here, as it was in hundreds of cases, or else the distich is spurious.

Her. III. 98.

Sola virum coniunx flexit : felicior illa
At mea pro nullo pondere verba cadunt.

Mr. Owen adopts the view that *pro* is here the exclamation, and he refers to *Mel.* 13. 758. We turn to that passage, expecting to find another case where *pro*, preceding an ablative, is not the preposition, but the exclamation; but we do not find such a passage, but the words *Pro ! quanta potentia caeli est*, where there could be no ambiguity, and where, without *pro*, there is an exclamation already.

It is, in my judgment, impossible that *pro* in *Her.* 3. 98 can be the exclamation. But allowing for a moment that it could be, what is gained by the supposition? The line must then be translated in one of two ways, either 'my words *being of no weight*, fall,' which is not sense, for it is only things of weight which *can* fall; or, 'my words fall, *and are counted of no weight*;' and there can be no doubt

that that is the meaning, but that meaning is already expressed, and much better expressed, by the passage when *pro* is taken for the preposition. Let Mr. Owen produce an instance of *pro* doing duty as an exclamation, with an ablative case following, and I will surrender, but not before.

Her. 13. 161.

Per reditus corpusque tuum mea numina iuro,
 Perque pares animi coniugiiue faces
 Perque, quod ut possim canis albere capillis,
 Quod tecum possis ipse referre, caput.

Mr. Owen, anxious to prove that *ut* was used by Ovid for *utinam*, which I deny, quotes this passage for it. I had, in my edition, expunged the last absurd distich, in which *ut* is found in this sense. The favourite manner for the interpolator to introduce his own compositions is by an epanalepsis. Cf. *Her.* 2. 17 :

Saepe deo(s) supplex ut tu, scelerate, valeres,
 [Sum prece thuricremis devenerata focis,
Saepe videns ventos caelo pelagoque faventes]
 Ipsa mihi dixi : ' si valet ille venit.'

The two middle lines are in no good MS., and are spurious. *Ibid.* 13. 63 :

[*Hectora* nescio quem timeo : Paris *Hectora* dixit
 Ferrea sanguinea bella movere manu]
Hectora quisquis is est, si sum tibi cara timeto,
 Et multos illic *Hectoras* esse puta.

The first distich, with its bombastic pentameter, is spurious. Laodamia never saw Paris in her life. Any reader of Juvenal knows how many lines introduced by an epanalepsis of a word are spurious.

Will Mr. Owen, or any one else, maintain that Ovid could have made Laodamia ask Protesilaus '*to bring back his head with him*' (tecum possis ipse referre). I know Barham sings of Hamilton Tighe, 'with his head on his knees,' but *he* was a ghost, and Laodamia, I feel sure, was afraid of ghosts.

Having expressed difference of opinion from Mr. Owen so far, I am glad to be able to join my opinion to that of his reviewer, as to the great value of his edition, and my unqualified admiration of his collation; and though emendation is perhaps not, as yet, Mr. Owen's strongest point, there can be no doubt that he has in several places restored the true reading, as in 2. 419, where he gives *sancta* for *saxa*; 4. 4. 85, *aque mea terra prope* for *atque meam terram prope* (an emendation of high order), and other passages.

A. PALMER.

THE 'THIRD ISTHMIAN'.

WHETHER the hymn printed in Boeckh's edition of Pindar as the 'Third Isthmian' is really a single hymn, and not two joined together, is a question on which the last word has not yet been said. Christ, for example, follows Boeckh and Hermann; while Bergk's edition gives us 8 Isthmians. In this matter the MSS. are not at one. The Medicean (D) gives all five strophic systems in honour of Melissus of Thebes as one ode; but the Vatican (B) divides them into two odes, the Third Isthmian consisting of one system, and the Fourth Isthmian consisting of the remaining four systems. The *editio Romana* adopted the division of B. Now, it is to be observed that these data really tell in favour of two odes. There was no temptation whatever to break up a single ode into parts; whereas there was a considerable temptation to bind together two odes marked out by the peculiarity of an identical metrical scheme, and dedicated to the same victor.

This evidence is supported by the scholia, which rest mainly on the commentary of Didymus. The scholiast acknowledges 8 Isthmian Odes, and expressly remarks at the beginning of the Fourth (iii. 19):—

τοῦ τετάρτου εἶδους ἡ στροφὴ καὶ ἀντίστροφος καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τὰ ταῦτα τὰ μέτρα ἔχει τῷ τριτῷ.

Moreover, Ode IV. is recognized as distinct in the scholion on iii. 15:—

ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐξῆς ψδῇ καθόλον τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Κλεωνυμίδας κέκληκεν.

And again, in the scholion on l. 18:—

ἄμεινον δὲ εἰς τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς ψδῇ· κ.τ.λ.

If we turn from the external to the internal evidence, we shall find that this points to the same conclusion. Assuming that the five strophic systems form only one hymn, we are met by grave difficulties. The last words of epode *a* are :—

ἄτρωτοί γε μὰν παῖδες θεῶν.

The first words of strophe *β* are :—

ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατὶ μυρία παντᾶ κέλευθος.

There is no connexion of thought between these clauses ; and Pindar would never have introduced θεῶν in two consecutive verses, unless he intended to render very emphatic some close connexion in sense. But another objection, still more serious, and as it seems to me insuperable, is that the second strophe repeats in nearly the same words the thoughts of the immediately preceding epode. After the announcement of the victories of Melissus at the Isthmus and at Nemea, epode *α'* proceeds thus :—

	ἀνδρῶν δ' ἄρετάν	Ep. α'
	σύμφυτον οὐ κατελέγχει.	
15	ἵστε μὰν Κλεωνύμου	
	δόξαν παλαιὰν ἄρμασιν	
	καὶ ματρόθε Λαβδακίδαισιν σύννομοι πλούτου	
	διέστειχον τετραοριᾶν πόνοις.	
	αἰὼν δὲ κυλινδομέναις ἀμέραις ἄλλ' ἄλλοτ' ἐξάλλαξεν.	
	ἄτρωτοί γε μὰν παῖδες θεῶν.	

STROPHE *β*.

	ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατὶ μυρία παντᾶ κέλευθος
20	ὦ Μέλισσ', εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφνας Ἴσθμίοις
	ὑμετέρας ἀρέτας ὕμνῳ διώκειν
	αἰσι Κλεωννμίδαι θάλλοντες αἰεὶ
	σὺν θεῷ θνατὸν διέρχονται βίотου τέλος· ἄλλοτε δ'
	ἄλλοῖος οὖρος
	πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπαίσσων ἐλαύνει.

It is clear that *ll.* 20-22 are simply a repetition of *ll.* 13-16; the *ἀρεαί* of Melissus are worthy of the *ἀρεαί* of the Cleonymidae. In the second passage there is a new announcement of the Isthmian victory. The striking metaphor *δέσσειχον* is repeated in *διέρχονται*; and the likeness between *l.* 18 and *ll.* 23-24 is even greater than is obvious at the first glance. For the metaphor, as well as the idea, is the same, *αἰών* being connected by Pindar with *ἄημι*, and *κυλινδομέναις* suggesting the waves moved by a wind. There is also a similarity of thought between strophe *α'* and antistrophe *β'*.

Now, Pindar never repeats his ideas in this way. His odes are full of verbal echoes, which help to explain the connexions in his train of thought—to indicate, for example, the application of a myth; but he never repeats simple declarations from the same point of view and in almost the same words. And indeed it would be manifestly inartistic to say over again in the second strophe what has been already well said in the first epode. To my mind this consideration would be fatal to the unity of the 'Third Isthmian,' even if we had not the corroboration of the Vatican MS.

Concluding, then, that the scholia and Bergk are right in deciding in favour of two distinct odes, we are met by another problem. What is the relation between these two compositions in honour of the same victor and written in the same metre? In the first place, it is clear that the 'Fourth Isthmian,' as we must now say, is earlier than the Third, because the Nemean victory, mentioned in the Third, is not mentioned in the Fourth. The Isthmian victory was won in the pancration; whereas the Nemean crown was gained in a chariot race (*ἵπποδρομία*, iii. 13). This circumstance explains the order in the MSS.; for in the Alexandrine arrangement priority was given to hymns celebrating 'curule' victories. In the second place, it

is clear that the 'Third Isthmian' is not really an Isthmian hymn, but a Nemean. Zeus is invoked in the 4th line; and Poseidon is not mentioned. The circumstance that the Isthmian victory is mentioned first in order (l. 11) is no objection. Thirdly, when Aristophanes of Byzantium arranged the works of Pindar in books, he did not sever this Nemean hymn from its Isthmian companion owing to the identity of metre, which seemed to establish an intimate connexion between them.

A simple hypothesis will explain the unique relation subsisting between these hymns. Let us suppose that the horse of Melissus won the crown at Nemea in the year immediately succeeding that in which his personal strength had secured him a victory at the Isthmus. The first victory had been celebrated by a tolerably long ode, consisting of four metrical systems. Melissus wished to have his second victory likewise celebrated in song by the famous poet of his own city; but he may not have been disposed to defray again such heavy expenses as he had incurred in the previous year.¹ At all events he asked Pindar for a short ode; and Pindar adopted the plan of writing another system in the metre in which he had chosen to sing the Isthmian victory, then fresh in his mind. And he deliberately introduced into this *envoi*, as it might be called, reminiscences of the former poem, the same thoughts expressed in similar words. This sameness of ideas is appropriate in two hymns thus related, though it would be intolerable in consecutive parts of the same work. Pindar has connected the hymns further by a metrical resposion. ἀπεράν, in iii.

¹ There can be little doubt that the lyric poets who gave their services to cities or distinguished men, had some fixed tariff of fees, proportionate to the length of the hymns which they composed. It is noteworthy that the longer

odes of Pindar are for the most part in honour of despots or rich Aeginetans. A victor of moderate means would have probably found it a very serious matter to pay the expenses of a long epinician.

13, answers to ἀπερὰ in iv. 13 (31). This responson was used by Mezger as an argument for the view that these hymns are not two, but one. It is, however, explained quite as well by the hypothesis proposed in this paper.

Again : *l.* 10—

χρῇ δὲ κωμάζοντ' ἀγαναῖς χαρίτεσσιν βαστάσαι

recalls, notwithstanding the variation of metaphor, the last line of the first hymn, 72 (90) :—

σὺν Ὀρσέῳ δέ νιν κωμάξομαι τερπνὰν ἐπιστάζων χάριν.

Thus, the 'Third Isthmian,' really a Nemean, is a sort of 'Melissus again!' and the poet, choosing the old metre, aimed at much the same effect as Wordsworth when he wrote 'Yarrow Revisited.'

J. B. BURY.

THE OLDER SYRIAC VERSION OF THE FOUR MINOR CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

TWO Syriac versions are reckoned among the authorities for the text of the Four Epistles (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude) which are not included in the Peshitto. Of these, one, the Harkleian (often wrongly styled the Philoxenian), belongs to a version of the New Testament made A.D. 616, by Thomas of Harkel, Monophysite Bishop of Mabug, on the basis of a prior one—the Philoxenian proper, so called because it was made at the desire of Philoxenus, a predecessor of Thomas in that see. Of the other, which is the version of these Epistles interpolated into most printed editions of the Peshitto, the date and authorship are not certified to us by external evidence: but there is good reason to believe, on internal grounds, that in it we have a fragment of that original Philoxenian of which the Harkleian is a revised and recast edition. When we compare the two, we find that they are not independent; one is unmistakably founded on the other. This being so, it can hardly be doubted that, as the Harkleian professes itself to be a derivative version, the other is the original whence it is derived. If this conclusion be accepted, the questions of its date and authorship are at once solved; for the Syriac authorities who give us the date and author of the Harkleian version, tell us also that the prior version which bears the name of Philoxenus was made A. D. 508; and another Syriac writer states that it was the work of one Polycarpus, whom he describes as the ‘Chor-episcopus.’

This version of these Epistles was first printed by Dr. Pococke, in 1630, from a MS. of no great age in the Bodleian Library (now Or. 119); whence it is often described as 'Pococke's,' or the 'Bodleian.' Three years later (1633) it appeared, for the first time as an integral part of the Syriac New Testament, in the great Paris Polyglot. This second issue of our version exhibits a text so closely approaching Pococke's, that it has been usually regarded as a mere reprint of his, varied by a few conjectural emendations. A careful study of the two, however, has convinced me that the Paris editor, Gabriel Sionita, used an independent MS.; for I find that in the points where his edition differs from its predecessor, it is for the most part supported by the evidence of other MSS. which have since come to light.

Of these MSS., many are of very much earlier date than the Bodleian copy, and exhibit these Epistles in a form which frequently commends itself as obviously more authentic. Hardly any use, however, seems to have been made by European editors since Sionita, of fresh MS. authority for the text. The London Polyglot (Walton's) simply reprints them, with but a few minute and probably casual variations, from its Parisian predecessor; and subsequent European editions (with the important exception of those prepared by Dr. Samuel Lee for the British and Foreign Bible Society) appear to be derived from Pococke's and the Polyglots, helped out here and there by conjectural alterations. Thus, the critical editors of the Greek Testament, with hardly an exception,¹ in using our version as a witness to the Greek text of these Epistles, cite it only as represented by those two primary editions, or by editions

¹ Wetstein made some use of his MS. (see below, No. 13), as appears from his note on 2 Pet. (in his *N. T. Gr.*, tom. ii.,

p. 698), and his *Prolegomena* to the pseudo-Clementine Epistles *On Virginity*, page iv.

based directly or indirectly on them. Tischendorf, for example, cites it as 'Syr. ^{bodl.},' but seems to have used for it, for the most part (as for the Peshitto), Schaaf's text and Latin Version (1710).

Quite recently the American editors of the Syriac New Testament, printed at New York (1888), have done good service, by correcting the text of these Epistles with the help of a valuable fifteenth century MS. in the possession of Mr. R. S. Williams, of Utica, New York. The corrections thus effected are judicious and important. Though independently made, they coincide very frequently with those previously introduced by Dr. Lee, which presumably have been derived by him from the great Cambridge Syriac MS. Bible (Oo. I. 1, 2).

I have within the last few years examined all the copies of this version (except one or two very modern transcripts) that I have been able to hear of. Seven (more or less complete) are in the British Museum; two in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; one (formerly Wetstein's) in the Library of the Remonstrants, Amsterdam; one (above-mentioned) in the Cambridge University Library; one (procured by Ussher) in our own Library; and one is the property of the Earl of Crawford. All these I have collated. By means of a phototyped reproduction of the needful pages of the Williams MS., for which I am indebted to the courtesy of Professor Isaac H. Hall of New York, I have been enabled to collate it also. For the Bodleian copy, above-mentioned, I have been content to rely on Pococke's printed text. I have compared also the Paris Polyglot text, representing (as I believe) a MS. not now forthcoming; and the Latin version of Etzel, published at Mainz in 1612, which is therefore several years prior to Pococke's publication, and is proved by internal evidence to have been made from another MS., now lost, exhibiting a distinct text. By means of these

collations I have obtained the evidence of the fifteen extant MSS. above-mentioned,¹ and of the two missing ones used by Etzel and by Sionita; and I have thus been able to form a critical text of this version, freed from most of the apparent blunders which have hitherto disfigured it and tended to discredit its authority as it is exhibited in the ordinary editions, and which have been but partially removed by Lee and by the American editor.

My chief object in this Paper is, pending the publication of this amended text with a complete *apparatus criticus*, to give in advance a survey of the chief points in which my collations have determined the true text of the version of which I treat, and so enabled us to restore the Greek text which underlies it. For the sake of convenience, I have thrown my summary into the form of a series of corrections of, and additions to, the references made by Tischendorf to this version, in the *apparatus criticus* of the eighth edition of his Greek Testament. In most cases it will be seen that the errors I have corrected, and the omissions I have supplied, are due to the imperfections of the MSS. whence the printed editions are derived; but a few of them arise from the incorrectness, or ambiguity, of the Latin versions included in those editions.² I have also included in my list many instances which Tischendorf has overlooked, or thought it needless to notice, of readings which are implied by the printed text of our version, for most of which little or no other authority is forthcoming, and which I find to disappear almost completely from the Syriac text when amended by the aid of the best MSS. Such instances, though they have no bearing on the Greek text, will,

¹ I have to thank the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam for the use of his collation of 12, and Professor Bensly for that of his collations of 9 and 14; by which I have been enabled to check my own.

² So far as I can judge, Tischendorf and Tregelles seem to have consulted the Syriac versions mainly through the Latin, as given by the Polyglots or by Schaaf.

I think, be of interest to Syriac students; and I hope the purification of the Syriac text effected by the removal of such errors will be received by Biblical scholars in general as a contribution of some value towards the textual criticism of the Greek Testament. No one who examines our version, or the Latin appended to it, in Pococke's or any later edition, can fail to be struck by the frequency and serious nature of its aberrations, and to carry away the impression that it is an eccentric and untrustworthy witness to the text. It is of importance, therefore, to show that a fuller knowledge of it serves to rehabilitate its character as a version executed with ability, and with general faithfulness—to be relied on as fairly representing the text of the Greek copy, or copies, which the translator had before him—copies which can hardly have been less ancient than the *Codex Alexandrinus*.

In the rest of this Paper I denote the Syriac MSS. to which I refer, by Arabic numerals, as in the following list. I have made use of all the MSS. in it, except 16, which is very recent, having been written after several printed editions had appeared:—

1. British Museum, Add. 14,623 (7).—This MS. (vellum) is a miscellaneous collection, and contains, *inter alia*, the Seven Catholic Epistles, including the Four of our version, with the Three of the Peshitto, all complete. It is dated A. Gr. 1134 (A. D. 823), and (though in a cursive hand) is the oldest known Syriac copy of the Four Minor Epistles. The order is 1, 2, 3 John; 1, 2 Peter; Jude.

2. *Ib.*, Add. 14,473 (2).—The Four Epistles, in an eleventh century hand, bound up with a sixth century copy of the Acts and Three Catholic Epistles (Peshitto). Complete. Estrangelo, on vellum.

3. *Ib.*, Add. 17,226.—Acts and Three Epistles (Peshitto), followed by our Four. Complete, except that the latter verses of Jude are wanting. A paper MS.; probably of thirteenth or fourteenth century.

4. *Ib.*, Add. 14,474.—Four paper leaves of twelfth century, or later, containing 2 and 3 John, and Jude, complete, bound into the middle of a ninth century MS. of the Acts and Epistles.

5. *Ib.*, Add, 14,681.—Acts and Epistles, Catholic (the Three followed by 2 and 3 John and 2 Pet.) and Pauline. Mutilated, so that Jude and more than half of 2 Peter are lost. Probably thirteenth century. Paper.

6. *Ib.*, Add. 17,115.—A leaf written by a ninth or tenth century scribe, bound up with a sixth-century copy of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, containing the first half of Jude. Vellum.

All the above belong to the Nitrian collection [see Wright's *Catalogue*].

7. *Ib.*, 7162, Rich.—A paper MS., probably of the fourteenth century and Maronite, of the Acts and Epistles (complete); the Pauline preceded by the Catholic, which stand in the usual Greek order. [See Rosen and Forshall's *Catalogue*.]

8. Bodleian, Or. 119.—This is the copy used by Pococke, probably of the sixteenth century. A paper MS. [See Payne Smith's *Catalogue*.] It contains the Acts and the Catholic Epistles in their Greek order.

9. Cambridge University, Oo. i., vol. 2.—Gospels, Acts, and Epistles (preceded by the latter books of O. T.). Our Four (unmutilated, but effaced in parts) follow immediately after the other Three. Vellum; Estrangelo (? twelfth century).

10. Dublin (Trinity College), B. 5. 16.—Transcribed for Ussher by a Maronite, A. D. 1625. A paper MS., containing the *Pericope de Adultera*, our Four Epistles, and the Apocalypse.

11. The copy above-mentioned as belonging to Mr. R. S. Williams. Written A. D. 1471, on paper. Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles (all seven in usual Greek order), and Pauline Epistles.

12. A complete New Testament, belonging to the Earl of Crawford, in which the Catholic Epistles stand in the usual Greek order. Written in Tur-'Abdin (Mesopotamia), probably in the twelfth century. Vellum. Estrangelo.

13. Amsterdam (Seminary of Remonstrants), No. 184.—Acts and Epistles (Three longer Catholic, Pauline, our Four, with ps.-Clement *On Virginity*). Paper, dated A. Gr. 1781 (= A. D. 1470). Formerly Wetstein's. Once apparently a complete N. T., of which the first half is lost.

14. Paris (Biblioth. Nat.), Suppl. 27.—Gospels, Acts, Epistles, our Four being placed after the other Three, but before the Pauline. Vellum; Estrangelo; twelfth century.

15. *Ib.*, Anc. fonds 31.—Paper, A. D. 1582. Originally contained all Seven Catholic Epistles, of which there now remains but a fragment of 1 Peter (Peshitto), with 2 Peter (in a wretched version, otherwise unknown), followed by 2 and 3 John and Jude of our version.

16. *Ib.*, Suppl. 79. vol. 5.—The whole New Testament in the usual Greek order (the four previous vols. contain the Old). A modern paper transcript, dated A. D. 1695.

[See for the last three Zotenberg's *Catalogue* (Nos. 29, 60, 5).]

Of the above, a few may be distinguished as forming a group of witnesses to the purest form of the text—1, 2, 12, 14—to which 9 may be added. These are also the oldest, as is evident from palæographic considerations. In case of the MS. which heads the list (1), the exact date is noted, showing it to belong to the first quarter of the ninth century. It is, therefore, earlier by at least two centuries than the next in order (2); and probably more than three centuries separate it from the rest, none of which appears to have been written much before the year 1200. It ought, indeed, to be placed apart from the rest, by reason of its superiority, not only in age, but in quality of text. In fact, an edition printed from it, with a few necessary corrections of obvious slips, would need but little improvement from collation of the other copies. Now and then, however, it goes wrong; notably in the last verse of the Epistle of St. Jude. It is followed closely by 2, which seems to have been copied from it or from a common exemplar, and which alone of all the MSS. supports its eccentric reading of the passage just referred to. These two may, therefore, be placed together as a sub-class, leaving the other three to form a second.

Of the remaining copies, two, 11 and 13, though written so late as the latter half of the fifteenth century, have been carefully made from good exemplars, and are of importance. They are contemporaneous, but quite independent of one another.

The rest are of a lower type, and agree in the main with Pococke's text, or that of the Polyglots. (An exception is 6, which is about tenth century, but is too frag-

mentary to be classed.) Most of these, however (especially 3), contribute some evidence of value. Even our Dublin copy (10), which is latest in date of those I have collated, though for the most part supporting Pococke's, now and then is found to side with the minority in favour of the better reading. It is unfortunate that the copy (8) which fell into Pococke's hands, and has through his edition dominated most subsequent ones, is among the worst—perhaps the very worst—in the whole list. The lost copies whence Etzel's version and the Polyglot text are derived, though better than 8, must have belonged also to this late and inferior class.

To sum up, we may distinguish [omitting 6—see above]—

A. The older and better MSS.; five: all on vellum; divided into—(A₁) Two copies (1, 2) superior to the rest in age and merit; closely akin; neither of them forming part of a complete New Testament: (A₂) Three copies (9, 12, 14), all probably of twelfth century; each embodied in a volume purporting to be a complete New Testament; all three written in the same modified type of Estrangelo.

B. The inferior MSS.; nine: all on paper, and cursive; divided into—(B₁) Two copies (11 and 13), both late fifteenth century; both carefully edited, and preserving the true text in many points; each forming part of what was, or was meant to be, a complete New Testament: (B₂) Seven less important copies, various in date, character, value, completeness, and place of origin.

C. One MS. (16), which is a recent transcript, of no evidential value.

Of the editions, the Polyglots (as follows from what I have said of the MSS.) give these Epistles in a somewhat less faulty form than Pococke's or those based on it. The American (following 11) is a great improvement on all these; but Dr. Lee's edition has a better basis in 9, and

approaches not less nearly to textual accuracy. Neither of these, however, has been made generally accessible to students by the accompaniment of a Latin version; and I have, therefore, thought it necessary to call attention in the following to many errors which they have already corrected, but by which Tischendorf, Tregelles, and previous editors of the Greek Testament have been misled. In the time of those excellent critics the American edition had not yet been issued; and they appear not to have known, at all events, not to have consulted, that of Dr. Lee.

I. 2 *Peter* i. 1.—Tischendorf notes ‘Syr. ^{bodl.} om. καὶ ἀπόστολος.’ But the omission is merely an accidental oversight on the part of the scribe of the Bodleian MS. (8), which has passed thence into Pococke’s and some other texts. All the other Syriac MSS. insert the words, as do the Polyglots, and Etzel’s version, followed by Dr. Lee, the American editor, and many others. Wetstein (*in loc.*) corrects this mistake from his MS. Our version, therefore, ought no longer to be cited for this omission.

II. *Ib.*—On the words ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, Tischendorf notes ‘Syr. ^{bodl.} et ^{p.}, *per justitiam.*’ This is from the Latin of the Polyglots and Schaaf as regards ‘Syr. ^{bodl.}’ (our version), and from that of White as regards ‘Syr. ^{p.}’ (the Harkleian). But his note is misleading, inasmuch as it suggests a variant, διὰ δικαιοσύνης. Both Syriac versions have ⲉⲛ (ἐν), and so Pococke, ‘in *justitia*’; as also Etzel.

III. 2 *Peter* i. 3.—Here Tischendorf reads ἰδίᾳ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ (with RACP, some cursives, Latin Vulgate, &c.) for διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς of Rec. (so BKL and most cursives), which Westcott and Hort retain. He adds ‘Syr. ^{bodl.}, *in gloriam sui ipsius et virtutis.*’ Here again he borrows from the

Polyglot Latin, or from Schaaf; and this is a correct rendering of the Syriac as read by them. Pococke has the same reading, but renders the last word wrongly, '*virtute*.' All the Syriac copies of group A, however, and likewise 11, and 5, omit the prefixed ܐ, which causes this seeming aberration of our translator; and Etzel confirms them. This correction is made by Dr. Lee (after 9) and by the American editor (after 11). Our version, therefore, agrees exactly with the reading adopted by Tischendorf.



IV. 2 *Peter* i. 4.—In this verse an undoubtedly false reading of the Syriac (ܐܘܕܝܢܐ = *cognitiones*) is given by Schaaf after Pococke (from 8); but is ignored by Tischendorf, who perhaps read with the Polyglots (or else adopted the easy emendation suggested by Pococke, *in loc.*) ܐܘܕܝܢܐ = *promissiones*, for ἐπαγγελματα. The mistake is of a single letter (the penultimate), and occurs only in MSS. of the inferior group. Four of the best group (1, 2, 12, 14), with 11, confirm Pococke's conjectural correction. The true reading is given in the American edition (from 11), but not in Lee's (9 being at this point undecipherable); nor by Etzel.

V. *Ib.*—Tischendorf mentions that 'Syr. ^{bodl.}' renders ܪܝܡܐ '*honores*,' as if it were a noun; and accordingly, all the editions, and nearly all the MSS., give ܪܝܡܐ. Hence the suggestion would naturally arise, that the translator read ܪܝܡܐ, or else mistook ܪܝܡܐ for a noun. But two of the best copies (12 and 14) have ܪܝܡܐ (adj., = *precious*); and so (apparently ?) 9. No doubt this is the true reading. In 1, the scribe seems to have written, by mistake, ܪܝܡܐ = *holocausta*; putting *dolath* for *rish*, and omitting the second *yud*. A corrector has conjecturally inserted the initial *olaph* (ܐ); and this probably has originated the adjectival reading, which 2 and most copies have followed.

VI. 2 *Peter* i. 15.—Against the best attested reading

σπουδάσω, which Tischendorf retains (with most editors—so Rec., Latin Vulgate, &c., on the authority of most MSS., including all uncials except \aleph), he cites ‘Syr. ^{bodl. et p.}’ in support of σπουδάσατε, which a very few cursives have. This is true as regards the Harkleian, and as regards our version in the edition used by him: so also most Syriac copies, and Etzel. But all the MSS. of the best group (A) substitute a reading which properly represents σπουδάζω, which is found in \aleph and one cursive. Lee corrects accordingly, from ϱ . The other reading may have got into the other Syriac copies from the Harkleian. One of them (13, Wetstein’s) has Harkleian variants inserted here and there in its margin, and at least one has been foisted into its text. See below, xliv., note.

VII. 2 *Peter* i. 20.—On this verse Tischendorf does not notice the strange rendering given by our translator, who must have read ἐπίλυσις for ἐπιλύσεως (unless he mistook the latter word for a nominative), and made ἰδίας agree with γραφῆς, as genitive depending on ἐπίλυσις, not on προφητεία, so that the result is: *Quod omnis prophetia scripturæ suæ solutio non sit*, ‘that no prophecy is the interpretation of its own Scripture.’ All the Syriac MSS. agree in this. In the Harkleian a still further distortion of the passage is to be found, with the same misrendering, or misreading, of ἐπιλύσεως, and with the substitution besides of γραφὴ προφητείας for προφητεία γραφῆς, a reading which occurs also in one or two Greek cursives.

VIII. 2 *Peter* ii. 1.—On ἐν τῷ λαῷ, Tischendorf notes, ‘Syr. ^{bodl.} *in mundo*.’ So all the European editions, and Etzel. But there is here a manifest corruption of the Syriac text. For  we ought to read , = *in populo*, differing only by the omission of *lomad* (𐤀) after ‘ee (𐤄), which it so closely resembles. This correction is properly made in the American edition (from 11); and is placed beyond doubt by the concurrence of all MSS. of the best

group (except 9, which is hardly legible here); to which 3 here joins itself, and 5 (doubtfully).

IX. 2 *Peter* ii. 6.—All the printed editions of our version make this verse open abruptly, as if the *καὶ* were omitted from the Greek text represented by it. So also Etzel. Tischendorf does not notice this; and though his failure to do so was probably inadvertent, it appears that he was right. There is sufficient authority for restoring the conjunction to its place in the Syriac. In three MSS. of the superior group, including the two best, (1, 2, and 14—probably in 9, and also in 3), the verse begins with ܡܕܝܢܐ. (In 12 ܡ is inserted without ܕ).

X. *Ib.*—Tischendorf retains the reading of Rec., ἀσεβεῖν, which has on its side the great majority of MS. authorities and the Vulgate, against ἀσεβέσιν, which is read by BP and one or two cursives, and adopted by Westcott and Hort: but he does not cite either Syriac version. The Latin version of Schaaf is *cum exemplum impiis qui futuri erant proposuit*; and those of Pococke and of the Polyglots, and the earlier one of Etzel, are substantially the same. If this were a correct rendering of the Syriac, it would appear that the translator found in his Greek copy either μέλλουσιν ἀσεβέσιν, or μελλόντων ἀσεβῶν. But the Syriac may be more properly rendered by *cum exemplum impiis futurorum* [*i.e.* ‘an example to the ungodly of persons about to be’] *proposuit*. Now, this exactly represents the reading of the minority of the Greek MSS., μελλόντων ἀσεβεῖν. I conclude, therefore, that this was the reading known to the Syriac translator, and that the editors above cited have misunderstood it. It seems pretty clear that they were misled by a desire to conform the Syriac to the Greek Rec. reading, which was the only one known to them; and that they regarded *impiis qui futuri erant* (‘the ungodly that should hereafter be’) as equivalent to μελλόντων ἀσεβεῖν (‘those that after should live un-

godly'). The ambiguity of the Syriac particle ܐ, used as it is both for a relative pronoun and as the sign of the genitive case, makes it possible to understand the word for *μελλόντων*, to which it is prefixed, either as meaning 'of those about to be,' or 'who were about to be;' and the editors have fixed on the latter signification, but I believe mistakenly. The Syriac translator seems to have been content to render word for word the Greek he had before him, and to have regarded *μελλόντων* as genitive plural masculine, though the sense of the words, when so rendered, is far from satisfactory. But one Syriac MS., that of Mr. Williams (12), has a different and probably preferable reading, according to which *μελλόντων* is rendered, not as a masculine, but as a neuter participle (in Syriac represented by feminine¹), giving the meaning, 'an example of things about to be to the ungodly.' If this be the true reading, it appears not only that (as I have shown) the Syriac translator read *μελλόντων ἀσεβέσιν*, but that he understood it correctly.

It is to be added, that the closely cognate Harkleian version gives a rendering which agrees with the Williams text, translating *μελλόντων* by the feminine—that is, treating it as neuter. White, in his edition of this version, perversely renders the sentence—*exemplum earum quæ impiæ futuræ erant ponens*, sc. (I suppose) *civitatum*. But 'impiæ' is a distinct misrendering of the Syriac he had before him; and the feminine words do not refer to 'cities,' but are (as above) representative of the Greek neuter. The correct rendering of this version is simply, *exemplum eorum quæ impiis futura sunt ponens*, the translator regarding *ἀσεβέσιν* as connected in construction with *μελλόντων*, not with *ὑπόδειγμα θεικώς*.

Both versions are therefore clearly to be added to the authorities for *ἀσεβέσιν*, as against *ἀσεβῆν*.

¹ The American editor does not adopt this feminine rendering.

XI. 2 *Pet.* ii. 8.—Rec. reads δ before $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$, which Westcott and Hort omit on the sole authority of B, but place it in their margin. Tischendorf retains it, adding 'cum \aleph ACKLP al omn. *vid.*,' but making no reference to any version. The printed Syriac, supported by most of the Syriac MSS., seems to represent the anarthrous reading; but as the Syriac language has no article, the evidence of this version can have no weight on the side of omission. But three MSS. (1, 2, 3), of which 1 and 2 are the oldest extant, subjoin the pronoun ܐܕܝܢ , which is apparently used to represent the definite article. Accepting this as the true reading of the Syriac, it is clear that the translator read δ $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$.

XII. 2 *Pet.* ii. 10.—Tischendorf cites 'Syr. *bodl. et p.*' for the reading $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma$, which is found in CP and many cursives; but himself adheres (as do Westcott and Hort) to $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\lambda\alpha$ of Rec., which has on its side the other uncials, most cursives, and the Vulgate. The true Syriac text, however, as established by 1, 2, 12, with 3 (against the other MSS. available in this place, the printed texts, and Etzel), supports $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\lambda\alpha$. The Harkleian is correctly reported by Tischendorf as in favour of $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma$.

XIII. 2 *Pet.* ii. 11.—In this verse all the uncials except A, and most cursives, insert $\pi\alpha\rho\grave{\alpha} \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omega$, which words some editors omit. Tischendorf inserts them, with Rec.; also Westcott and Hort (but in brackets). A few cursives side with A, and so does the Vulgate. Tischendorf cites as on the side of omission 'Syr. *bodl. et p. txt.*' The words are not found in the printed texts, or Etzel's version, nor in most Syriac MSS.; but they are inserted by all the MSS. of group A (except 14), and by 3, and must therefore be regarded as belonging to the true Syriac text.

By 'Syr. *p. txt.*' (above) Tischendorf means that the words do not form part of the Harkleian text: they are, however, found in it, marked with an asterisk (which is

what he expresses by placing 'Syr. P. C. *' among the authorities for inserting them). Asterisks may have been used by Thomas of Harkel in these Epistles to mark words which he introduced into his version from the Philoxenian, but which his Greek MSS. did not exhibit. Assuming, therefore, that the version with which this paper deals is the original Philoxenian, we have perhaps in this asterisk the evidence of Thomas, in support of the five MSS. above cited, to establish the words *παρὰ κυρίῳ* as part of the text known to the Philoxenian translator.

XIV. 2 *Pet.* ii. 14.—Here Tischendorf reads *ἀκαταπαύστους ἁμαρτίας* with Rec., against *ἀκαταπαύστου ἁμαρτίας* of several cursives, supported by the Vulgate. Most cursives support him, and all the uncials, except AB, which, as they give the unintelligible *ἀκαταπάστους*, are probably to be reckoned as agreeing with the rest. He quotes 'Syr. ^{bodl. et p.},' as in favour of *ἀκαταπαύστου*. But he is here misled by Schaaf's version, which gives '*plenos . . . peccatis indesinentibus*' (= *ἀκαταπαύστων ἁμαρτιῶν*). Similarly Pococke. If this were correct, it would follow that the Syriac supports the genitive case, but not the singular number, of the reading *ἀκαταπαύστου ἁμαρτίας*. Etzel's rendering is to the same effect. But it is plain that the Syriac is meant as a rendering of *ἀκαταπαύστους ἁμαρτίας*, regarded by the translator, not as an accusative plural adjective, followed by a noun in genitive singular, but as an adjective and noun both in accusative plural agreeing with one another—not 'having eyes full of adultery and unceasing from sin,' but 'having eyes full of adultery, and [having] unceasing sins'—a rendering which, however improbable, is grammatically possible. So the Polyglots correctly render '*habentes oculos . . . et peccata indesinentia.*' It follows, therefore, that our Syriac translator ought to be cited on the side of *ἀκαταπαύστους*, not of *ἀκαταπαύστου*.

The same applies to his successor, the Harkleian

translator, whose version is here identical with ours, and is mistranslated by White in the same way as by Pococke.

xv. 2 *Pet.* ii. 17.—Tischendorf omits to note that the Syriac (as read by Schaaf, with Pococke and the Polyglots) gives for ὑπὸ λαλαπος a rendering represented by *desuper* (ܐܠܐ). But this (though found in the Bodleian MS. (8) and in 7 and 10) is plainly a mistake for ܐܠܠܐ, *procella*, which is the reading of all the other MSS. (except that one or two write it as a plural), and is adopted by Lee and by the American editor. Etzel likewise had the true reading in his copy, for he renders *a turbine* Wetstein also notices and corrects this blunder—page v. (*Prolegg.* in Epp. ps.-Clem.); as also the next-mentioned (xvi).

xvi. 2 *Pet.* ii. 18.—Here also, on the expression ὑπέρογκα ματαιότητος, Tischendorf passes over the Syriac evidence as given by Schaaf after his predecessors; which Schaaf represents by *ludibrium vanitatis* (so Polyglots; *ridiculum*, Poc.; also Etzel, *derisionem*). These are fair renderings of the Syriac word in the printed texts, ܐܠܠܐ, which is found not only in the Bodleian copy (8), but in many others. All MSS. of the best group, however, agree in reading ܐܠܠܐ (as also 13, and 3—but without the plural sign) = *stupenda*, which evidently is meant as a rendering of ὑπέρογκα. This reading is confirmed by the Harkleian, which gives the same word (with ὑπερογκα [sic] in the margin); also by the rendering of ὑπέρογκα in both versions, where it occurs in Jude 16, by the cognate ܐܠܠܐ. This latter was used by the Syro-Hexaplar translator to render the same Greek adjective where it occurs in Deut. xxx. 11, as we learn from Masius (*Syrorum Peculium* s. v. ܐܠܠܐ), on the authority of his MS. (now missing). This correction is adopted by Lee from 9.

xvii. *Ib.*—Rec. has ἐν ἀσελείαις, with very faint show

of authority. Tischendorf (also Westcott and Hort) omit ἐν, with nearly all the MSS. But P and some cursives, also Vulgate, read ἀσελγείας, and Tischendorf cites 'Syr. ^{bodl. et p.}' in support of this reading. As regards the Harkleian, this is a correct statement. But the older version renders the Greek by a plural adjective, as if it read ἀσελγέσιν, a reading unknown to the Greek authorities. It may be that this rendering is meant to represent ἀσελγείας ('lusts of uncleanness' = 'unclean lusts'). All, however, that can be confidently concluded is that the Syriac translator did not read ἐν. I cannot help suspecting that he read ἀσελγείας and mistook it for a feminine adjective, dative plural.

XVIII. 2 *Pet.* ii. 22.—Tischendorf does not notice the omission of the καί, which connects the two proverbial sayings in this verse, in Pococke's (after 8) and all European editions, and Etzel. No other authority has been cited for this omission. The copulative is restored by the American editor after 11, which is supported (as I find) by all the MSS. of group A, and also by all the other MSS. which contain the passage, and no doubt is the true Syriac reading. Lee, however, omits it.

XIX. 2 *Pet.* iii. 5.—In like manner, the earlier printed editions (with 8, &c.) omit γὰρ in this verse, and Tischendorf passes over the omission silently. Here again most of the better copies insert the word (1, 2, 9, 12; also 11), as does Etzel. It is inserted by the American editor, and (in this case) by Lee, and supported by the Greek and all other authorities.

XX. 2 *Pet.* iii. 9.—To the authorities for βραδύνει against βραδυνεῖ, Tischendorf might have added 'Syr. ^{bodl. et p.}' Both Syriac versions render the verb as a present, as the Latin Vulgate, &c. (*tardat*). So Etzel (*moratur*).

XXI. 2 *Pet.* iii. 10.—The last word of this verse is read by Tischendorf κατακαίσεται, with Rec. (after AL and most cursives; so also the Latin and most versions, including

the text of the Harkleian). But \aleph BKP and two or three cursives have the difficult reading $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, which the Armenian supports. Westcott and Hort place this word in their text, but mark it as a corruption (probably, they suggest, of $\rho\upsilon\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$). Tischendorf acknowledges that, on the evidence, the reading $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ought to be preferred, but regards it as unintelligible, and therefore inadmissible; but intimates that, with $\omicron\upsilon\chi$ before it, it would be satisfactory. The reading so modified has no support from Greek MSS., though $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ of C agrees with it in sense; and the only authorities he alleges for it are 'Sah. Syr. ^{bodl.}' Accordingly, in all the printed texts, from Pococke's to that of New York (confirmed by Etzel), the Syriac represents the reading $\omicron\upsilon\chi \epsilon\upsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. On this reading the evidence of the MSS. collated by me is conclusive. Six omit the negative—1, 2 [text], 12 (the three best of group A), with 11, 13, and also 7. But in 2 it is inserted in the margin, apparently *prima manu*—but in the ordinary cursive (\beth), whereas the text of the MS. is written in the Estrangelo character. In 7 the scribe, as if in doubt, leaves a small space before the verb. All the rest insert it in the text. The inference seems certain, that the translator had before him the reading $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (without the negative), which he rendered literally; and that the earlier scribes wrote down his rendering faithfully, until some one or more of them, finding the passage, when so read, difficult to understand, thought, as Tischendorf did, that a negative was required to make sense, and inserted \beth accordingly. We actually detect the scribe of 2 (an eleventh century MS.) in the act of making this interpolation. The reading obtained by this process is certainly plausible, and has the support of the parallel expressions $\omicron\upsilon\chi \epsilon\upsilon\pi\acute{\rho}\iota\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron$ (of Enoch's translation, Hebr. xi. 5: cp. Gen. v. 24 [LXX.]), and $\omicron\upsilon\chi \epsilon\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ (of the disappearance of the mountains, Rev. xvi. 20: cp.

Dan. xi. 19 [Theodot. and Chis., &c.]]. But it seems possible to retain *εὐρεθήσεται*, though Westcott and Hort give it up as a corruption, and to understand by it *deprehendentur*, 'shall be discovered,' or 'disclosed' (as Luke xix. 48; xxiii. 2; Acts iv. 2; also Ezech. xxviii. 15 [LXX.], *εὐρέθη τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐν σοί*). The author of the second century treatise, commonly (but wrongly) known as the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome, appears to have had this passage, thus read, in his mind, when he wrote—*ἔρχεται ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καϊόμενος, καὶ τακήσονται τινες [?] τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς μόλιβος ἐπὶ πυρὶ τηκόμενος, καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ κρύφια καὶ τὰ φάνερα ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων*. I may add, that among the authorities for *εὐρεθήσεται*, Tischendorf quotes the Harkleian margin; and rightly, for though in White's edition the negative is prefixed to the verb, this is an arbitrary interpolation, made by the editor against the evidence of his MS. The result is, that of the two Syriac versions, the text of one, and the margin of the other (probably derived from the former) support *εὐρεθήσεται*, and that the Sahidic stands alone as a witness for *οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται*. It seems not improbable that if older MSS. of this version come to light, the negative may prove to be a late and untrustworthy insertion, as in the version before us.³

XXII. 2 *Pet.* iii. 16.—Pococke's, Schaaf's, and other editions omit a pronoun, so as to make it appear as if the relative *ὃ* (before *οἱ ἀμαθεῖς*) was wanting in the underlying Greek. Tischendorf passes this omission without notice, and it appears to be an error of the Bodleian (8) and other late Syriac MSS. The pronoun is duly inserted in

³ Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort, as Tischendorf has done, state the Syriac evidence correctly, so far as the imperfect materials accessible to them permitted: unlike earlier editors, such as Alford, Scholz, &c., who follow

Griesbach in the erroneous statement, that both the Syriac versions support the reading of C, *ἀφανισθήσονται*. Dr. Sanday alone (*Appendices ad N. T.*) has given the facts as above stated, in a complete form.

the Polyglots, and in most MSS.—(all of group A, 11 and 13, and also 3, 7, 10). This correction is, however, not adopted by Lee; only by the American editor.

XXIII. 2 *John* 3.—Tischendorf cites 'Syr. ^{bodl.}' for the omission, and 'Syr. P.' for the retention, of *κυρίου* before *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. He omits it, as do Westcott and Hort, on the authority of AB, some cursives, and many versions. Rec. retains it, with most cursives, and NKLP. But the true Syriac text, as established by 1, 2, 9, and 12—also 3, 4, 5 (?), gives ܕܠܗ = *κυρίου ἡμῶν* (though the other copies, together with Etzel, and all printed editions except Lee's, omit it). This, however, is probably meant to render the simple *κυρίου*—properly ܕܠܗ, as the Harkleian has it.

XXIV. 2 *John* 5.—On the rival readings *γράφων* and *γράφω* in this verse, Tischendorf does not refer to either Syriac version; probably because the Latin translation of both seemed to imply a third reading, *γράφω*, and no equivalent for *ὥς* appears in any printed text of our version known to him, nor in Etzel. This defect, however, is supplied by Lee on the authority of 9, and (with immaterial variation) by the American editor on that of 11; with which MSS. agree substantially, 1, 9, 12, 14 (also 5), all confirming the reading *ὥς . . . γράφων*. This reading the Greek uncials unanimously attest, and most other authorities; and it is adopted by Rec. (though Tischendorf says 's *γράφω*'), as well as by Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, &c.

XXV. 2 *John* 6.—Tischendorf does not notice that the Syriac of Schaaf, &c. (also Etzel), reads for *τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἐντολὴν*, a reading which has no other attestation. I mention it merely to correct it. In 1, 12, 14 (also in 11, and apparently in 9) the reading *τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ* is followed. The rest support the ordinary printed text; which Lee retains, but which is corrected in the American edition.

XXVI. 2 *John* 10.—In like manner Tischendorf passes over the reading *χαίρειν σοι καὶ χαίρειν* (for *χαίρειν* simply), which Schaaf and previous editions follow (rendering it, *salve tibi te vale*; also Etzel, *ave et vale*). It is unsupported by Greek or other authorities. Cod. 12 omits all the interpolated words; 1 and 2, also 3 and 4, have *χαίρειν σοι* (omitting *καὶ χαίρειν*); and 5 likewise, the scribe having first written *καὶ χαίρειν*, and then erased it; 9 omits *καὶ χαίρειν*, and (apparently) *σοι* also. The text as printed has all the other copies in its favour, including even 14, and also 11 and 13. The American editor has, nevertheless, corrected his text into conformity with the Greek; I suppose conjecturally, but upheld (as it now appears) by good MS. authority. The same correction had previously been made by Lee.

XXVII. 2 *John* 13.—For the insertion of *ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν* at the end of the Epistle, Tischendorf cites (with a very few other authorities) 'Syr. ^{bodl.} Syr. p. c.*.' All printed editions of our version bear out his statement: also Etzel, with most MSS. But the interpolation is not found in 1, 9, 12, 14, nor in 5, which however inserts on its margin words representing *ἡ χάρις μετὰ σοῦ*. All these MSS., however, insert *ἀμήν*. Most modern editors—Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, &c.—make the Epistle end abruptly with *τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς*.

The Harkleian version (as Tischendorf correctly intimates) inserts the words, but marks them with an asterisk. If this symbol has the meaning suggested above under X., it signifies that Thomas of Harkel found the words in the Philoxenian version, but discredited them on the authority of his Greek MS. If so, it goes to confirm the words as belonging to our text (assuming it to be the original Philoxenian). But the relation borne to our text by the Harkleian asterisks is not clearly made out, nor are we sure that it was uniform. And there is reason to suspect that some asterisks which now appear in the MSS. have

been by mistake substituted by the scribes for obeli. We cannot, therefore, rely on this confirmation (or on that noticed under x.) as certain.

XXVIII. 3 *John* 1.—All the editions, with all the MSS. except 1 and 2, support a reading ἀγαπητῷ μου, unattested otherwise, and unnoticed by Tischendorf. Likewise in verses 2, 5, 11, the editions imply ἀγαπητὲ ἡμῶν, which the Syriac MSS. without exception support, but which no other authority confirms. [So in Jude 3, 17, and 20, ἀγαπητοί μου.]

XXIX. 3 *John* 4.—Here again Tischendorf passes by the reading of all the editions, and of Etzel, which makes this verse begin with καί. The copulative has no other than Syriac authority; and though found in most MSS., is omitted by 1, 9, 12, 14.

XXX. *Ib.*—For χαρὰν of Rec. and of most authorities, B, the Coptic, and the Latin Vulgate substitute χάριν, which Westcott and Hort place in their text, relegating χαρὰν to the margin. Among the authorities for χαρὰν Tischendorf omits to reckon both Syriac versions. All the MSS. agree on this point.

XXXI. 3 *John* 6.—On this verse Tischendorf notes, ‘Syr. ^{bodl.} om. προπέμψας.’ So Schaaf and all European editions, including Lee’s, following 8; also Etzel. But the American editor corrects the omission (which is evidently an accidental one, arising from the repetition of Δ), after his MS. (11); with which agree all the other MSS., except 7, 10, 15. Thus our version is on the side of ποιήσεις προπέμψας, with Rec., Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and most authorities, against ποιήσας προπέμψεις of C and the Latin Vulgate.

XXXII. 3 *John* 7.—All the MSS. of our version support ἔθνων, the reading of KLP and most cursives, against ἔθνικῶν of \aleph ABC, &c. Rec. gives the former, but modern critical editions (no doubt rightly) prefer the latter. The

Harkleian agrees with our version, and likewise the Latin Vulgate. Tischendorf does not refer to either Syriac on this point, but, in citing the Vulgate *gentibus*, remarks that it may be meant for a loose representation of ἑθνικῶν. Possibly the Syriac rendering may be similarly explained.

XXXIII. 3 *John* 9.—Tischendorf does not notice the reading ὑμῶν (for αὐτῶν), though all the earlier editions of the Syriac attest it, as does Etzel. The majority of the Syriac MSS. confirm it; but no Greek or other authority has been adduced in support of it. It is most probably a mere blunder, affecting but one letter, ܕܡܡܢ = ὑμῶν for ܕܐܘܬܡܢ = αὐτῶν. The latter is substituted by Lee from 9, and by the American editor from 11, with which agree two more of the best MSS. (12, 14). The reading of 1 (ܕܐܘܬܡܢ = αὐτῶν πάντων) seems to be a slip of the pen for ܕܡܡܢ.

XXXIV. 3 *John* 10.—There is far less authority for the remarkable reading ἐὰν ἔλθῃ, ὑπομνήσου (for ἐὰν ἔλθῃ, ὑπομνήσω), unmentioned by Tischendorf, and unsupported except by our version as given by Schaaf, &c., after Pococke. In this case, however, the division is rather among the printed editions than the MSS.; for the Polyglots, as well as Lee's and the American, have a reading which agrees with the Greek, and which is supported by nearly every available MS., and by Etzel. A few of the MSS. (2, 3, 4), are defective in this place, but 2 is corrected, *secunda manu*, into agreement with the rest. Of the two Syriac verbs, the reading of the former depends on the placing of a diacritic point; of the latter, on the insertion or omission of the first letter, which happens to be the same as the last letter of the preceding word. It can hardly be doubted therefore that we have here merely a blunder on the part of the scribe 8 (the Bodleian MS.), which is really the sole clear authority for this variant. In 9, an intermediate reading appears, representing ἐὰν

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ἐλθω, ὑπομνήσατε. Bagster's edition represents yet another, εἰς ἐλθω, ὑπομνήσον; for which I find no MS. authority (except 5, doubtfully).

XXXV. 3 *John* 11.—Among the authorities for δὲ before κακοποιῶν, which is the reading of Rec., with L and some cursives and versions, Tischendorf cites our version ('Syr. ^{bodl.} et'). And so all the printed editions, and Etzel's version; and all the MSS.—with the important exception of 1, which omits the conjunction, thus agreeing with the reading of the remaining Greek copies, the Latin Vulgate, and the Harkleian. It is to be noted that the conjunction inserted is not ⲉⲗⲁ (= δὲ), but the mere prefix ⲟ (= καί). The testimony of our version in this instance, therefore, if not quite decisive, ought probably to be reckoned as against δὲ.

XXXVI. 3 *John* 12.—Here Tischendorf cites 'Syr. ^{bodl.} et p. ms.' as supporting the reading of C, which inserts τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ before τῆς ἀληθείας. And so Etzel, all the editions, and nearly all the MSS., of our version. The exceptions are:—1, which has no trace of τῆς ἐκκλησίας; and 14, which follows the reading of A, when ἐκκλησίας is substituted for ἀληθείας. In this case, therefore, as in the last, 1 stands alone in supporting the best attested and usually adopted Greek reading. But inasmuch as the Harkleian margin gives the fuller reading in a form substantially agreeing with that exhibited by the great majority of the copies of our version, it is not to be summarily discarded. The probability is, that ἐκκλησίας was (as attested by A) an early variant for ἀληθείας, that it was noted by the author of our version as a variant, and found its way very early from his margin into the text; and that it then was adopted in all known copies except 1, either substituted for ἀληθείας (as in 14), or prefixed to it so as to form a conflate reading (as in the remaining copies). The reading of C is no doubt to be accounted for in a similar way; but the Syriac is probably not derived

from it, but the result of an independent conflation. The Harkleian marginal reading may possibly have been derived from a copy of our version, but more probably from a Greek MS. agreeing with C.

XXXVII. *Ib.*—For οἷδατε of Rec., Tischendorf (with Westcott and Hort) reads οἷδας with \aleph ABC, several cursives, and most versions, including the Latin Vulgate; but cites ‘Syr. ^{bodl. et p.}’ as siding with most Greek cursives, and the remaining uncials in support of the received reading. Accordingly all the older editions, and most of the MSS., of our version have the plural verb, which Etzel also exhibits. But four MSS. of the best group (1, 9, 12, and 14), follow the reading οἷδας, which Lee adopts. The Harkleian is on the side of the plural, as Tischendorf states; but writes οἷδατε in its margin, which seems to imply that Thomas found the singular in the Philoxenian text, but corrected it on the authority of his Greek MS. If this be so, it confirms us in accepting the singular verb as the true reading of our version; which is therefore to be removed from among the witnesses for οἷδατε, and entered as one of those for οἷδας.

XXXVIII. *Jude* 2.—The variant ἐν ἀγάπῃ, for καὶ ἀγάπῃ, is not noticed by Tischendorf, though found in all editions of the Syriac, and in Etzel. The latter reading is, however, supported by 1 and 2, also by 3, 4 (?), 6; which probably give the true text. No other authority is quoted for ἐν ἀγάπῃ, which is probably a blunder of an early Syriac scribe, mistaking ο for Ω.

XXXIX. *Jude* 3.—Some Greek copies, headed by \aleph AB and (apparently) C, and some versions, prefix ἡμῶν to σωτηρίας; for which a few others, with the Latin Vulgate, have ἡμῶν. The Received text, and most MSS. (including KP), give neither. Tischendorf places ‘Syr. ^{bodl. et p.}’ among the versions that support ἡμῶν, which he adopts, as do Westcott and Hort. This is no doubt correct, though one

good Syriac copy (2) omits the pronoun, and another (4) follows the reading ὑμῶν.

XL. *Jude* 4.—For *δεσπότην θεὸν, καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*, Tischendorf reads *δεσπότην καὶ κύριον . . .*, with many editors; on the authority of *ⲬABC* and some cursives, and of several versions including the Latin Vulgate. For *θεὸν* (of Rec.) he cites KLP, and many cursives, but of the versions only ‘Syr. ^{bodl. et p.}’ But he omits to note that most printed editions of our version (all, so far as I have observed, except Lee’s) exhibit the reading in a much more remarkable form. They omit *καί*: so as to make *δεσπότην θεὸν* part of the title attributed to our Lord Jesus Christ—a variant which if true would be of the highest importance. Etzel’s version goes with them in this. The best copies, however, fail to confirm this reading. The *καὶ* is represented in the text as given by 1, 2, 12, 14; also 13.⁴ It may therefore be concluded that our version is rightly reckoned with the Harkleian as a witness to the reading of the Received text.

XLI. *Jude* 5.—The Received text with *ⲬKL* and most cursives reads *εἰδότες ὑμᾶς*, but Tischendorf and most modern editors omit the pronoun. For the omission he cites *AB* and some cursives, the Latin Vulgate, and all the versions, including ‘Syr. ^{bodl. et p.}’ This is a mistake; all MSS. and editions of our version exhibit the pronoun, as does the Harkleian also. Pococke expresses it (as Etzel had done before him) in his Latin version, which Schaaf follows: but the Polyglots neglect to insert *vos*, and White likewise. On this point, however, it is impossible to rely on the Syriac witnesses, inasmuch as the pleonastic idiom

⁴ Here again Wetstein notes that his MS. (13) differs from the printed text; but quotes one Greek cursive (19) for the omission. See his *Prolegg.*

in ps.-Clem. R., page v.; also his note *in loc.* It was probably from Wetstein that Lee derived his reading here, for his own MS. (9) is illegible at this point.

of the language would lead the translators to supply the pronoun even if wanting in the Greek. See (*e.g.*) 2 Pet. i. 12.

XLII. *Ib.*—For τοῦτο of Rec., which is the reading of KL and most cursives, Tischendorf reads πάντα, which is supported by NAB and a few cursives, and by most of the versions, including the Latin Vulgate and the Harkleian, and is adopted in most modern editions. As an indirect support of this reading, he cites πάντας as read by ‘Syr. ^{bodl.}’ Accordingly, πάντας is represented in all the editions, and nearly all the MSS., and by Etzel’s version. Dr. Hort mentions it (*in loc.*) as ‘possibly right.’ But 1 and 2 represent πάντα, which is probably the true Syriac reading, the other being an easy and natural corruption of it, by the change of the termination (ܐܠܐ— for ܐܠܐܝܢ—). Our version thus appears to be directly, and not merely indirectly, a witness for πάντα.

XLIII. *Jude* 7.—Tischendorf here again (as in XLI.) represents the Syriac versions as taking a side when they are really neutral. He quotes ‘Syr. ^{bodl. et p.}’ in support of τρόπον τούτοις (which he reads, as do Westcott and Hort, with NABC and a few cursives), against τούτοις τρόπον of Rec. (after most cursives and KL). But the latter order would be impossible with the Syriac idiom employed in our version, though perhaps possible in that of the Harkleian. Both Syriac versions, therefore, are incompetent witnesses in this case; and neither, not even the Harkleian, renders with such absolute exactness as to be relied on in a question of the order of words of a sentence.

XLIV. *Ib.*—An unquestionable blunder of the same sort, in the same verse, in the text of our version, is so serious, and so easily corrected, as to be worth noticing, though Tischendorf passes it by—ܐܝܢ ܕܐܠܐܝܢ for ܐܝܢ ܕܐܠܐܝܢ (ὑπὸ πῦρ for δειγμα πυρός). So all the editions, and Etzel, with 7, 8, 10, 15, also 11, and even 14; 9 is illegible here,

and 5 deficient. The reading of 1 and 2, also 3, and (with immaterial variation) 4 and 6, represents *ὑπὸ δείγμα πυρός*,¹ apparently a conflation. But 12 has simply ܕܝܥܡܐ ܕܠܥܡܠܐ (= *δείγμα πυρός*). This, no doubt, is the true reading, and is supported by 13 (which, however, is here interpolated from the Harkleian). It is evident that the translator misunderstood the original, and joined *δείγμα πυρός* together in construction. The reading of the inferior MSS. may be the result of an attempt to soften the harsh expression, 'are placed as an example of eternal fire,' into 'are placed under eternal fire,' by substituting for ܕܠܥܡܠܐ, the very similar word ܕܡܠܐ. This false reading is noted and corrected by Wetstein from his MS. (13), page v. of his *Prolegg.* in ps.-Clem. R.

XLV. *Jude* 9.—The editions (except Lee's) and most MSS. of our version, and Etzel, attest a reading *διαλεγόμενος διεκρίνετο* (for *διακρινόμενος διελέγετο*), which no other authority supports. It also is unrecorded by Tischendorf, and probably is hardly worth noticing; for all the MSS. of the best group and 13 (corr. *prima manu*), have a reading which by mere transposition of two words agrees with the Greek. Lee of course derives this correction from 9.

XLVI. *Jude* 10.—The printed editions omit *ἄλογα*, except Lee's and the American which insert it on the authority of 9 and 11. The omission has the authority not only of 8, but of 7, 10, 15—all, however, inferior MSS.—and of Etzel. On the side of the insertion are (besides the two above mentioned) all the other copies, except 5 which is here wanting. This is therefore no real variant, but a

¹ The suggestion is a tempting one, that this may be the true Syriac reading, and may be taken to represent *ὑπόδειγμα πυρός* (cp. 2 Pet. ii. 6). But the Greek MSS. are unanimous in giving the simple *δείγμα* in this place. And

even if our translator found *ὑπόδειγμα* in his MS., it is hardly likely that, in rendering, he would have resolved it into two words, inasmuch as he has not done so in the parallel passage of 2 Pet.

mere oversight of a Syriac scribe; and Tischendorf was justified in passing it over as he has done. It is noticed, however, by Wetstein, *in loc.*, who corrects it from his MS. (13).

XLVII. *Jude* 12.—It is worth noting, though Tischendorf does not refer to it, that both Syriac versions render this verse so as to connect ἀφόβως (as in Rec.) with ἐαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες, and not (as he prefers to do) with συνευωχούμενοι. His arrangement is adopted by Gebhardt and a few other editors, but not by Westcott and Hort.

XLVIII. *Jude* 15.—For πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, **Σ** alone of the Greek MSS. reads πᾶσαν ψυχὴν, for which reading Tischendorf can adduce no confirmation except the Sahidic version. It is remarkable that the same reading is represented in our version, according to the two oldest copies, 1 and 2; though the rest (with minor variations) agree with the ordinary reading.

XLIX. *Jude* 18.—Tischendorf cites 'Syr. ^{bodl.}' as agreeing with the Latin Vulgate, in its rendering *qui dicebant*; apparently assuming that it implies a reading οἱ ἔλεγον (for ὅτι ἔλεγον), for which no Greek authority is to be found. The Syriac relative particle (ܐܝܬܐ) however, which Schaaf and the Polyglots, as well as Pococke and Etzel, render as = *qui*, is apparently meant to stand for ὅτι, rather than οἱ. To represent οἱ, it would probably have a demonstrative pronoun (such as ܐܝܬܐ) preceding it. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that any reading but ὅτι ἔλεγον of Rec. was known to the Syriac translator.

L. *Ib.*—For the insertion of a second ὅτι before ἐσχάτῃ . . . Tischendorf cites 'Syr. ^{bodl. et p.}' So Rec. reads, with ACKP, and most cursives and versions; against **Σ**BL, which he himself follows (with Westcott and Hort) in omitting it. But the particle ܐܝܬܐ, which represents ὅτι, is regularly prefixed in Syriac in such cases as this, even when the Greek does not require or admit it; as, *e.g.*, in

14 *supra*, where the prophecy of Enoch is introduced by ? in the Syriac, though $\delta\tau\iota$ is not found, and would be superfluous, in the Greek. The ? is, therefore, simply recitative (as $\delta\tau\iota$ sometimes is in similar circumstances); and though it is found here in both Syriac versions, and represented in the Latin of Schaaf, &c., its presence is not conclusive as to the reading of the underlying Greek text.

LI. *Ib.*—For $\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\ \chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omega$ of Rec. (after KL and most cursives), Tischendorf and others read $\epsilon\pi'\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ with $\aleph A$. So too (omitting $\tau\omicron\upsilon$) BC, &c., in which form Westcott and Hort adopt this reading. Of the versions, he adduces the Latin Vulgate, *in novissimo tempore* (= $\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\ \chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omega$), and 'Syr. ^{bohl} *in fine temporum*, Syr. P. *ultimo tempore*.' It is not safe to rely on our version as sufficiently literal to give conclusive evidence between readings which, as in this case, do not differ in sense; but it seems to represent the intermediate reading, $\epsilon\pi'\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ [or, $\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$] $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omega\nu$, which some cursives exhibit. Compare the similar rendering of $\epsilon\pi'\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$, 2 Pet. iii. 3. But as to the Harkleian, White's Latin (which, by the way, is *extremo tempore*, not *ultimo*) apparently misled Tischendorf into supposing a greater difference between the two Syriac versions than really exists. They are identical, except that the Harkleian (if the text is correct) would be represented by *in fine temporis*, not *temporum*.

LII. *Ib.*—A remarkable, but unnoticed, reading must have been before the translator of our version— $\acute{o}\pi\iota\sigma\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$, or $\mu\epsilon\tau'\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$, for $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$. It is also in the Harkleian (only with the noun in the plural); but no other authority shows it or any other variant here. The Syriac word is the same which is used as = $\acute{o}\pi\iota\sigma\omega$ in verse 7, *supra*, and 2 Pet. ii. 10; compare also the Peshitto, Luke xxi. 8.

LIII. *Jude* 19.—Our version, as printed, appears to

follow a reading ἐν οἷς τὸ πνεῦμα οὐκ ἔστιν, for πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες. All the available Syriac copies but one (9 is illegible) exhibit this, followed by all the editions, and by Etzel; but no other authority countenances it, and Tischendorf does not notice it. It is certainly a mere blunder, and is set right by 1 (the oldest copy), which alone reads ܩܫܕ for ܩܫܬ—*quibus non est* for *in quibus non est*—the difference being in the first letter only. In 10 the scribe has first written the right word, but has erased it, and subjoined the wrong one.

LIV. *Jude* 22, 23.—Tischendorf exhibits fairly enough, in Latin dress, the evidence given by the two Syriac versions severally concerning the very confused text of the passage contained in these verses. But it is worth while to set down the Greek which may be presumed to underlie each. Our version represents: Καὶ οὗς μὲν ἐκ πυρὸς ἀρπάζετε, διακρινομένους δὲ ἐλεεῖτε ἐν φόβῳ. The Harkleian: Καὶ οὗς μὲν ἐλεεῖτε διακρινομένους, οὗς δὲ σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἀρπάζοντες ἐν φόβῳ. It will be observed that these readings agree—(1) in making the passage consist of but two members (not three as given by most modern editors); (2) in the accusative case of διακρινομένους (for διακρινόμενοι) as object to ἐλεεῖτε: while they differ in the order of the members, and in the ἀρπάζετε of our version for the fuller σώζετε ἀρπάζοντες of the Harkleian, and lastly, in the connexion of ἐν φόβῳ. It is to be added that their agreement is complete in the choice of Syriac words to render the Greek, even in the forced rendering of διακρινομένους = *resipiscentes* (ܩܫܕܐܢܐ). The reading of the Harkleian agrees with that of C (as corrected *secunda manu*). For that of our version there is a remarkable confirmation (so far as it extends) in a citation by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 8) who similarly abbreviates σώζετε ἀρπάζοντες into ἀρπάζετε. See also Westcott and Hort, *in loc.*

LV. *Jude* 24.—For ὑμᾶς, Tischendorf quotes 'Syr.

bodl. et p.' as confirming Rec.; to which he and most editors adhere on the authority of NBCL, many cursives, Latin Vulgate, &c. So all Syriac editions, and all MSS. here available; except 1, which reads *ἡμᾶς* with A.

LVI. *Ab.*—The printed editions and most MSS. of our version insert a second *ὑμᾶς* after *στήσαι*, attested also by Etzel. Tischendorf does not notice this, and it is probably a Syriac scribe's error. Two of the best copies, 12 and 14, omit it, and 13 has it only by interlineation: while 1 fails us inasmuch as it by inadvertence omits *στήσαι*.

LVII. *Jude* 24, 25.—All the editions, and nearly all the MSS., including that which Etzel represents, give (besides the readings noted by Tischendorf) a rearrangement of this passage as follows:—*τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ . . . στήσαι [ὑμᾶς] ἁμώμους, μόνῳ θεῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει, δόξα καὶ κ.τ.λ.* The exceptions are 1 and 2, which omit *μόνῳ θεῷ . . . ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει*, and read instead *καθαρισθέντας κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ . . .* The insertion and omission are alike unknown to all other authorities. The former is probably a gloss on *ἁμώμους κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*, mistaken by a scribe for a variant: but the omission of the words *μόνῳ θεῷ . . . κυρίου ἡμῶν*, taken with the displacement of the same words in the other copies, looks as if the translator had marked them as doubtful, on his margin or otherwise.

It may be convenient to classify the results of the above fifty-seven notes, as follows:—

1. Fifteen are corrections, derived from the amended Syriac text, of the evidence of our version as stated by Tischendorf and Greek Testament editors in general.*

* Wetstein alone notes one of these, corrections referred to under head 4 the first; and also four of the twenty (below).

2. Seven are additions to that evidence, four derived from the edited, and three from the amended text.

3. Six are corrections of instances where Tischendorf has been misled by the Latin versions appended to the Syriac editions; which in three of these instances are wrong, and in the remaining three have been misapprehended by him.

In these cases (twenty-eight in all), some contribution is made towards the improvement of the *apparatus criticus* of editions of the Greek Testament.

4. Of the remaining twenty-nine, nine are of a miscellaneous character, and relate chiefly to doubtful points. Twenty are instances of Syriac readings not noticed, for the most part, by Greek Testament editors, where the ordinary printed texts need the corrections which the better Syriac MSS. supply. Some of these corrections have been made by the American editor, and some by Dr. Lee. As regards this class of cases, my list of twenty does not pretend to be anything like complete. It might be largely extended; and the instances I have given are taken somewhat at random as average specimens, and are not to be regarded as a studious selection of typical examples. They will, however, serve to show all who consult our version in the original, or even through the appended Latin, how much may be done by a careful restoration of its true text towards clearing away the blemishes which in the existing editions have more or less defaced it, and discredited its evidential value.

It may be worth while to point out further, that of this total list of fifty-seven places, if we set aside the ten where there are no errors in the Syriac text, and the nine which are doubtful, there remain thirty-eight where the older printed editions, especially the *editio princeps* and Schaaf's, need correction. Of these I find that (besides two or three cases where the Polyglots have the true reading)

the corrections have been made both by Lee and by the American editor in nine instances; by Lee alone in six; and by the American editor alone in six—twenty-one in all. These two editions are thus in a very marked degree superior, as regards the text of the portion of the New Testament with which I deal in this Paper, to all previous ones; and of the fifteen errors above noted into which Tischendorf has been led by following Schaaf, he might have avoided five, if he had referred to Lee's edition. The figures as I have just given them seem to indicate equality in point of accuracy between that edition and its recent American rival; but it is quite possible that a closer comparison of the two might turn the balance one way or the other. Lee, no doubt, had before him a MS. of much higher age, and, on the whole, preserving a purer text than that from which the American corrections are derived. The latter, however, has the advantage of being in a state of perfect preservation; while that which Lee used is so seriously damaged as to be in not a few places hopelessly undecipherable.

JOHN GWYNN.

RECENT EDITIONS OF CATULLUS.¹

THE year 1889 has been an important one for the criticism and elucidation of the text of Catullus. Dr. Ellis has issued a second and enlarged edition of his well-known Commentary; and Dr. J. P. Postgate has published a text, with short critical notes.

Of Dr. Ellis's work it is unnecessary, in the present day, to speak in praise; it has long taken its place by the side of the editions of Lucretius and Juvenal as a monumental work, upon which all future editors of Catullus will have to base their labours. Whatever blemishes may be discovered in the work are certainly not due to any lack of erudition or industry on the part of the editor.

It is pleasant to read the chivalrous language in which Dr. Ellis (Pref. xi) refers to the labours of his old opponent, Munro; nor can one fairly take exception to his remarks about another scholar, Aemilius Baehrens, who has lately gone over ἐς πλεόνων, although Dr. Ellis undervalues the positive results of Baehrens's labours. Worthless and tasteless as most of his emendations are, he seems to have divined the truth in not a few passages, e.g. *Conlecta* (lxiv. 64), *Europæ* (id. 89), *Amarunsia* (id. 394), *Sidonios* (id. 178), *Incultum* (id. 350). But Baehrens's treatment of Dr. Ellis was so unjust and ungenerous that a dispassionate criticism of his labours is hardly to be expected.

¹ I.—A Commentary on Catullus, by Robinson Ellis, M.A., LL.D. 2nd ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1889.

II.—C. Valerii Catulli Poemata, Recognovit Joh. P. Postgate, Litt. D. London, Bell, 1889.

The *Prolegomena* to Dr. Ellis's edition remain nearly as they were ten years ago. Dr. Ellis still believes that the *praenomen* of the poet was Quintus. A few paragraphs have been added to his defence of the Q. of the Datanus against Munro's strictures, but without, I think, materially strengthening the argument. It is, indeed, proved that the Q. of the later MSS. of Pliny is as old as the 11th century; but when Dr. Ellis goes on to argue that it may 're-mount to Pliny himself,' he boldly makes a *saltus* of many centuries, disregarding the uncontested fact that the Bambergensis of Saec. x. and the Chiffletianus of Saec. xi. omit the *praenomen*. It is idle to discuss the comparative value of the testimony of Jerome, Apuleius, and Pliny, unless it be proved that the Q. actually remounts to Pliny himself.

The Q. in the Datanus may be due to a confusion with the poet Q. Catulus, which was the cause of its appearance, according to Munro, in the MSS. of Pliny, as may be seen from the inscription, *Q. Catuli Veronensis liber incipit ad Cornelium*. When Dr. Ellis argues (Pref. lxxii.), 'if the scribe of the Datanus was sufficiently educated to take the *praenomen* from Pliny' (as Munro maintained), 'it is not likely that he would have made the mistake of writing *Catuli* for *Catulli*—the knowledge implied by the added Q. is inconsistent with the ignorance implied by the retained *Catuli*,' he seems to forget that the oldest MSS. of Pliny give *Catuli* also. After all, the case for Q. rests mainly upon the reading *qui te* in lxxvii. Dr. Ellis still thinks that *Quinte* is the most probable reading yet suggested there.

The Commentary has been extended by over 100 pages. It is quite impossible, within the limits of a short article, to notice the many excellent notes and illustrations that have been added to an already rich store. It will be sufficient to draw attention to a few passages,

upon which Dr. Ellis proposes new emendations of his own, or records the suggestions of modern scholars.

II. 8.

Credo ut cum gravis acquiescit ardor.

Dr. Ellis now believes that *Credo ut* is corrupt, and proposes *utcumque est gravis, acquiescet ardor*. I confess I cannot see how this can express 'a promise of renewed intimacies with her lover.' But the fatal objection to the emendation is that it destroys the distinction between *dolor* and *ardor*, which Munro had proved so conclusively. Dr. Postgate's *Credo, et quo gravis acquiescat ardor*, in addition to being liable to the same objection, is rather questionable Latin. *Quo* in a sentence of purpose when not followed by a comparative, or immediately preceded by a substantive, is very rare. The omission of *et* would improve the grammar. Both editors have omitted to notice Professor Palmer's *Cordist*, which is very close to the *ductus litterarum*, and gives admirable sense.

Dr. Ellis still believes that *ipsam* (iii. 7) must be taken with *matrem*, doubting the Latinity of *sua ipsa* = *sua era*. But Baehrens quotes from *Inscr. Orell.* 4923, *Claudia* . . . *Gellius Zoilus issae suae*, which clearly proves that the phrase was in common use.

Dr. Ellis has not given up *Vae factum male, vae miselle passer* (iii. 15), rejecting the correction of the Itali, *O factum male, O miselle passer*.

But *O* is nearer to the *bo* of the MSS.; and the passage quoted by Dr. Ellis from Cicero (*O factum male de Alexione*) proves that the phrase was technical. The hiatus after the interjection is not unexampled even in Catullus: cf. *male est me hercule, et laboriose* (xxxviii. 2), a line which is only spoiled by such suggestions as *ei, heu*,

or a *laboriose*. Compare, also, Prop. ii. 15, 1, *O me felicem ! O nox mihi candida*. The reading in Pers. iii. 66, *Discite O miseri*, is considered doubtful by some scholars ; but Bücheler has made no change. A similar hiatus is not uncommon in Greek : cf. φεύ, φεύ, ὦ πόνοι βροτῶν δύσπονοι, Soph. *Ant.* 1276.

Dr. Ellis wavers between three interpretations of the plural *praetoribus* (x. 10). His suggestion, that 'Bithynia may have been, at the time Catullus was there, under the administration of more than one official acting *pro praetore*,' involves his untenable theory of the date of Catullus's peregrinatio. Again, if *ipsis* means 'the provincials,' there is no parallelism between *ipsis*, *praetoribus*, and *cohorti*, in respect to *cur quisquam caput unctius referret*. The *praetores* and *cohors* wished to return enriched by the spoils of *ipsi*. Dr. Ellis would have been wiser had he accepted the old suggestion of Muretus, *quaestoribus* with *nunc*. Obviously a reference to the under-officers is required. Dr. Ellis himself inclines to the 'ingenious emendation' of Traube, *ipsi | hoc praetore fuisse*. But the repetition of *praetor* two lines later is a fatal objection.

Dr. Ellis suggests that *commoda* (x. 26) is neut. plur., and that *da* must be supplied. But the passage that is quoted from Plaut. *Cist.* iv. 2, 76,

Commoda loquellam tuam tibi nunc proderit : confitemur,

proves that Plautus shortened the final syllable. Probably *commoda* was a colloquialism, or Catullus may have remembered the Plautine license. I don't think that it has been noticed that this poem of Catullus stands out from all the others as being distinctly the most Plautine in tone. It contains no less than five reminiscences of the comic drama—viz., *in collo sibi collocare*, *manē*, *dixeram* (= dixi), *fugit me ratio*, *molesta vivis*, besides *commodā*.

Dr. Ellis proposes *nitens . . . horribilem sequi ultimosque* for *visens . . . horribilesque vitimosque* (xi. 11), translating, 'the barbaric Rhine saved for Gaul.' But *horribilem* is more than 'barbaric,' and seems too strong a word to be applied to the Rhine: and surely it is forcing the meaning of *Gallicum* to translate it 'preserved to Gaul by Caesar's victories.' Dr. Ellis ought to have noticed Professor Palmer's *horribilesque vitro in usque*, which is very close to the *ductus*, far closer than *insulam* or *aequor*.

Dr. Ellis suggests *aure tritius* for *ac re tristius* (xxii. 8): cf. Long. *de art. Rhet.* 137, ὁ τετραμμένος τὰ ὦτα. This emendation is certainly ingenious, but few will think it necessary, or even as natural as the generally received *hac re*.

Dr. Ellis introduces a strange license into xxiii. 27, viz., *satis beatu's*. I fail to appreciate the force of his remark: 'by *sat es beatus* the irony of the full form *satis* is much diminished.' The elision *beatu's* is unexampled, even in Lucretius.

XXIII 5.

Cum diva mulier aries ostendit oscitantes.

Dr. Ellis suggests: *Cum laeva munerarios offendit oscitantes*. After Professor Palmer's *Cum diva miluorum aues*, I am sure that Dr. Ellis will be the first to consent that this emendation, with its fifty brothers, should be consigned *Orci thesauro*.

Having written an excellent note in defence of *Adoneus* (xxix. 8), Dr. Ellis suggests that the true reading may be *Thyonius*. Surely any mention of the 'Phallic god' is out of keeping with *albulus columbus*. A word expressing 'daintiness' is required. I have not seen quoted in any commentary the following passage from Apuleius, which

seems to settle the question, 2. 38: *sic in modum superbi iuvenis Adonei domo proturbor.*

Dr. Ellis, utilising an emendation of Munro, reads, *urbis ob luem suae* (xxix. 24), 'to please the abomination of his native Formiae (Mamurra).' This seems *longe repetitum*, and unlike the direct style of Catullus.

Probably *o potissimi* is the best suggestion that has yet been made, though, as Dr. Ellis rightly remarks, an epithet with *socer* weakens the sense.

XXVI.

Most scholars will be sorry to hear that the identity of Tanusius and Volusius is disputed, in spite of Seneca's *Annales Tanusii scis quam ponderosi sint, et quid vocentur.* Dr. Ellis suggests that Tanusius's real name was *Tanusius Volusius*. This name seems as great a monstrosity as Allius Mallius, to which Munro objected so strongly, and is liable to all the objections urged by Tartara against the ordinary view.

If the old theory is really untenable, which is more than doubtful, it is possible that Volusius was the real name of a poet whose works were soon forgotten, and that people in Seneca's time applied the line of Catullus to the works of Tanusius, on account of the similarity of the name. But there does not seem to be much weight in the arguments that have been urged against the identification.

XXXVI. 9.

Et hoc pessima se puella vidit
Iocose lepide vovere divis.

Dr. Ellis is probably right in accepting Muretus's view as to the meaning of these lines. Lesbia wished the

pessimus poeta to refer to Catullus in the sense of 'naughtiest' (it may be noticed that in another passage Catullus calls himself *pessimus poeta*), whose *truces iambos* against herself she intended to burn, *si sibi restitutus esset*. Catullus pretends to misunderstand her, and, taking *pessimus* in the sense of *worst*, sacrifices Volusius's effusions. *Pessima puella* must refer to *pessimi poetae*, and means 'naughty.' Catullus retorts, that the charge of 'naughtiness' would be brought with greater justice against Lesbia, on account of her malicious vow. So I would translate the lines: 'and this was a clever vow that the naughty girl saw that she was making,' &c. Against Professor Palmer's *iocosus*, Dr. Ellis must quote something more certain than *diversae variae*.

Dr. Ellis prefers *expui tussim* (xliv. 7), as being nearer to *expulsus sum* of the MSS. than *expuli*; but he quotes no passages to prove the possibility of such a phrase as *expui tussim*. After all, *expuli* is quite as close to the *ductus* (no letter being more easily lost than *i* after *l*), and is supported by *expulit morbum* from Horace. The same corruption exists in Mart. 1. 19. 2, where Friedlaender reads *expulit*.

XLVII. 2.

Scabies famesque mundi.

Dr. Ellis suggests the name *Muni* (from Cicero, *Font.* 9, 19), but, even if it could be proved that Munius had any connexion with these men, a second name would spoil the poem. If a change is necessary, Bücheler's *mundae*, or Riese's *munda* (cf. Mart. 3. 58. 45: *famem mundam*) is preferable.

Dr. Ellis suggests a new emendation of *avelle* (lv. 9): *Ain? te sic usque flagitabam*; but it is a long way from the

MSS. The solitary corruption, *vel* for *in*, in the Ashburnham MS. of Orientius, may be merely accidental. Probably Riese's *avellistis* is as good as anything that has yet been suggested.

Dr. Ellis quotes with approval Munro's comment on *io Hymen, Hymenae* *io* (lxi. 117, 118), viz., '*io* has two different metrical values in this refrain.' Few will think him wrong in following the judgment of that great critic. But, having done so, it is inconsistent, on 185, to follow Haupt and Lachmann, in holding that each strophe is divided into two systems of 3 and 2 lines respectively—a theory supported by the single line 216, *omnibus et*, which can be easily corrected by reading *obviis*, or by transposing *omnibus* and *insciis*. One might quite as justifiably hold that there is a break after the second line of each strophe, on the strength of the MSS., *Uxor in thalamo est tibi Ore*, &c., which Dr. Ellis corrects. It is futile to quote the authority of Haupt or Lachmann, having rejected their scansion of the ten lines upon which they had grounded their judgment.

Dr. Ellis thinks '*eosdem* (lxii. 35) an ingenious method of suggesting what the Greeks call *πᾶννυξίειν*.' Most scholars think this too 'ingenious,' and prefer *eous*, which Dr. Ellis thinks weak. Baehrens has ingeniously suggested that the *-dem* of *eosdem* may have come from the margin, on which *de* may have been written as a correction of *comprendis* in the text. Certainly *deprendere* is the word that is required by the sense.

Dr. Ellis is, I think, unwise in not accepting Avantius's *pondera silice* (lxiii. 5, MSS., *pondere silices*). Ovid's imitation (*Fast.* iv. 237: *Ille etiam saxo corpus laniavit acuto . . . onus inguinis aufert*) proves that he read *silice* and *pondera*.

Dr. Ellis suggests *tablam* for *tubam* (lxiii. 9) ('*tabl* is Persian for a kettle-drum'). The word is supposed by

Schmidt to exist in Sen. *Ep.* 56. Does not Dr. Ellis fairly lay himself open to a retort from Osthoff, whose suggestion that *sopio* = Sansk. part. Sāpáyant 'may,' according to Dr. Ellis, 'be called the furthest point of audacity to which criticism has yet reached'?

Dr. Ellis notices the harshness of *cymbalum* for *cymbalorum* (lxiii. 21). MS. A of Dr. Ellis has *nox*, which he is inclined to accept, taking *cymbalum* as an acc. after *sonat*. As *nocte* occurs in a passage of Statius (quoted by Dr. Ellis), which apparently was imitated from Cat. (*Theb.* xii. 224: *nocte velut Phrygia cum lamentata resultant Dindyma*), I would suggest that *nox* is the archaic adverb (= *noctu*). Lucil. (98 Lach.): *Hinc media remis Palinurum pervenio nox*. Dr. Ellis's construction seems too artificial and Virgilian for Catullus, and *cymbalum* would be more parallel to *tympana*, if it were in the same case.

Dr. Ellis rightly rejects Avantius's *ad omnia irem* for the unmetrical *et earum omnia adirem* (lxiii. 54), and Baehrens's *alumna*. Certainly *omnia* has no meaning in this context. I would suggest AD INVIA, which is very close to the *ductus OMNIA*. The O in *omnia* may be due to the D, since D and O are often interchanged in the MSS.

Dr. Ellis has an excellent note defending the MSS. *geminas* (lxiii. 75), but, with an indecision which is too common with him, suggests that *seorsum* may be the right reading. *Culex*, 150: *geminas avium vox obstrepit auris*, and the other passages quoted 'are quite sufficient to defend the received text.

LXIV. 24.

Vos ego saepe meo vos carmine compellabo.

Dr. Ellis has not condescended to notice the difficulty caused by the position of the possessive in one clause, the

noun in another, or the emendation of Professor Palmer, *mero. Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero* (Hor. C. iv. s. 33); *Festa dies Veneremque vocat, cantusque merumque* (Ov. Am. iii. 10, 47), and the other passages quoted in *Classical Review*, vol. ii., p. 85, seem to demonstrate his point. This difficulty had not escaped the acute mind of Bergk, who proposed *pos*. But *mero* makes the verse poetry.

Dr. Ellis still defends *Neptunine* (lxiv. 28), on the analogy of *Oceanine*. But this is a Greek noun, and, besides, one cannot see how Thetis, who was daughter of Nereus, could be called *Neptunine*. Dr. Ellis thinks that Nereine is not indicated by the MSS. *Nectine*. It seems to me that it is the same word. T and R are continually confused in G and O—e.g. *Detecta* (xxii.), *turis* (xxxvi.), *cruta* (lv.), *mitescere* (lxiv.), *tuentes* (id.), *retulit* (= *tetulit*, lxiii.). Thus *Necrine* would be a simple case of anagrammatism for *Nereine*. The same confusion was probably the origin of *mira munuscula nocte*, lxviii. 145, where *muta* is probably the correct reading.

Dr. Ellis thinks that Baehrens's conclusive *incultum* (lxiv. 350) for *inciuum* of G, 'though not far removed from the letters of G,' is not indicated by *inciuous* of O. Baehrens has pointed out that *inciuous* is due to *prava adsimulatio* to *canos*. Dr. Ellis himself proposes *in Ciero*, which was doubtless suggested by Meineke's brilliant conjecture *deseritur Cieros* (l. 35).

Dr. Ellis doubts Bentley's conjecture *Locridos* (lxvi. 54, MSS. *Elocridicos*), in spite of *Libycone habitantes litore Locros* (*Aen.* xi. 265). He may be right, but few indeed will be willing to accept his own suggestion *Bocridos*, which is, to say the least, cacophonous. He acknowledges that 'the pedigree leaves out so many steps as to leave the exact degree of relationship uncertain.'

Dr. Ellis still prefers *non iusseris* for *non vestris* of the MSS. (lxvi. 91) to Scaliger's *siveris* or *siris*. But *ius-*

seris is not indicated by the *ductus litterarum*; and the sense required is 'do not allow me to be deprived of,' not 'do not give orders that I should,' &c. I would suggest that *NOLI* should be read for *NON*, and *nostri* for *vestris*. It is well-known that *noster* and *vester* are continually interchanged in O and G: cf. xxvi. 1; lv. 22.

The arguments of Munro in favour of his interpretation of lxvii. have entirely failed to convert Dr. Ellis. He thinks that Munro's view is vitiated by the assumption of a connexion between Balbus and Caecilius, of which 'there is not the slightest indication in the poem.' Be that as it may, this theory is by far the simplest and most consistent that has yet been suggested, especially if we accept Froelich's *nato* for *voto* (line 5) which, indeed, is probable on other grounds. Dr. Ellis's own view does not fulfil the conditions of a legitimate hypothesis. It is founded on two distinct assumptions, viz. that Balbus had a son who was married to the lady from Brixia, and that the guilty *pater illius gnati* (line 23) was this same Balbus. This latter assumption is based upon his interpretation of *O dulci iucunda viro iucunda parenti* (line 1), which is supposed to imply a charge of incest against Balbus—an entirely impossible hypothesis according to Dr. Ellis's own view of the poem, since Balbus was dead before the *nupta* entered the house (cf. 6: *postquam est porrecto facta marita sene*).

Dr. Ellis suggests *verum est os populi* in the desperate line lxviii. 12, comparing Persius i. 42: *Os populi meruisse et cedro digna locutus*. But, as Conington rightly points out, Persius's line is an imitation, after his manner, of *Vergilius Romana brevi venturus in ora* and *Phoebo digna locuti*. Surely *os populi* could mean nothing but 'effrontery of the people.'

C. 6.

Perfecta exigitur unica amicitia.

Dr. Ellis thinks that the lengthening of *-ur* is proved by Mart. xiv. 77, *Lesbia plorabat, hic habitare potest*, which, he thinks, can 'scarcely be anything but a Catullian archaism.' Surely such a hypothesis is *σαθρῶς ἰδρυμένη*, having only this very corrupt line for its support. Catullus, strange to say, has not a single instance of the lengthening of *-it* or *-at* in *arsis*. The solitary *habet instar* Dr. Ellis, with singular inconsistency, rejects in favour of his own *bostar*. Such licenses, which etymologically were not licenses at all, cannot justify *exigitur*. Prof. Palmer's *perspecta est igni tum* seems as conclusive an emendation as any that have ever been made on the text of Catullus.

Dr. Ellis's objection, that 'the same metaphor of *fire* is immediately afterwards used in a different application, would be strong if we were dealing with Horace or Virgil. One might fairly quote Dr. Ellis's words (iv. 9) against himself, viz. 'It is on faults of this kind that the indifference of Horace for Catullus, Calvus, and their school (s. i. 10, 19) was probably grounded.'

C. iv.

Credis me potuisse meae maledicere vitae.

Dr. Ellis has omitted to notice the fact that this is the only poem of Catullus in which the name of the person addressed is not mentioned. lx. is obviously a fragment, a space for five verses being left in O, after line 5. Possibly, if Bk. I. ended at lx., the last page was lost. lxxi. is also corrupt. Probably *a te* (line 4) points to a lost name, e. g. *Alli*, *Arri*, or *Atei*; Dr. Ellis's *Virro* is

doubtful on metrical grounds. I would suggest that *Vetti* should be read in place of *vitae*. *Vettius* or *Victius* is addressed in xcvi. in not very complimentary terms. Baehrens's *Quinti* is too far from the *ductus*.

Sed haec hactenus. In the above remarks I have naturally dealt with passages in which disagreement with Dr. Ellis is possible. Most of the points I have noticed are minute and difficult, about which no scholar would be willing to dogmatise. Dr. Ellis has provided all the material we require to enable us to form independent judgments. Whenever we differ from him, we have to borrow the material for our arguments from the stores which his industry has amassed.

On the whole, the criticism that is most likely to be made on the work is, that the editor shows a certain lack of decision in considering rival interpretations, and a want of consistency in his treatment of the MSS. materials. Even if we are unwilling to accept Mr. Margoliouth's dictum (*Stud. Scen.*, p. 43, n.), viz., 'When two views of a passage are tolerated by an editor, both views are certainly wrong, the passage probably wrong, and the scholarship of the editor possibly wrong,' we may still find cause for quarrelling with Dr. Ellis's custom of defending the MSS. tradition, and then suggesting an emendation which stultifies his defence. Take, for instance, the first line of cxv. mentioned above, *mentula habet instar*. Dr. Ellis quotes *fulgēt* Lucr. ii. 27; *scirēt* v. 1049. One might naturally think that these parallels would settle the question for ever. But Dr. Ellis proposes *bostar* from the Phillips Glossary (= *boum statio*). If the testimony of a Glossary is sufficient to defend such a word, why does not Dr. Ellis read *basso in sudore levamen* in lxxviii. 61? *Basso* is in O and G, and is supported by the testimony of the Glossaries. Good instances of his indecision are afforded by his notes on cxii. and lxxix. 4. Surely the passage from Plautus

which he quotes (*Men.* ii. 2. 41, *hominem multum et odiosum* = a bore), settles for ever the meaning of the former poem.

Dr. Ellis still refuses to award to O the place of honour claimed for it by Baehrens, and still maintains the authority of the Datanus as a 'substantially uninterpolated MS.' But I have not noticed any passages on which he accepts D's text against O and G, if we except lxvi. 83, where he prefers *petitis* of D to *colitis* of O and G. Even there he is inclined to read *geritis*, which is based on *quaeritis* of the later MSS. He quotes *annuit* in lxi. as an indisputable proof of the genuine ancient character of D, but still reads in his text *annuit* of the other MSS. In the one passage (lxv. 12, *Semper maesta tuo carmine morte canam*), where D is right, he prefers *legam* of O and G. Indeed, it is very difficult to discover what particular value he attributes to the testimony of the Oxford MS. He uses its corrupt reading *inciuos* (lxiv.) as an argument against Baehrens's *incultum*, while he refuses to accept the simple, straightforward *notorum* (lxxix.) of O, preferring *natorum* (of G) with its far-fetched reference to the *ius trium liberorum*, and the three sisters of Clodius, or even Peiper's *aratorum* (referring to the *ager Stellatis*), or the 'fine irony' of Schöll's *nostrorum*. Again, he prefers *nobis* of G (lxiv. 139), with its double-barrelled difficulty, viz. *nobis* after *mihi*, and a dat. after *iubebas*, to *blanda* of the Oxford MS. In lxii. he acknowledges the superior value of the Thuaenian over O and G, but is inconsistent enough to print in his text *committite* (of O), and *contusus* (which is not even in O), instead of *convertite* and *convolsus* of T.

With regard to interpretation, Dr. Ellis at times cannot resist the temptation of refining. Could any rational being believe that *vendat* (lxxix.) is a reference to Clodius's 'putting up to auction the effects of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus;' that *lymphaque in Oetaeis Malia Thermopylis*

(lxviii. 54) is 'a sub-allusion to the name of Catullus's friend Mallius' (the ingenuity of this suggestion can only be equalled by the idea of the gentleman who thought that 'the gentle dew from heaven' was a clever hit at the plaintiff); that *cum longa voluisti amare poena* (xl.) is a pun on *penna*, 'keeping up the idea of *Ravidus* as a long-tailed cock'; that the indicative in *mirari desine cur fugiunt* (lxix.) adds 'downrightness and coarseness' to the expression: that *ingratum* in '*ingratum tremuli tolle parentis opus*' is a reference to the 'running sore in Anchises's back, caused by the thunderbolt of Jupiter'? Such comments are only too likely to excite the irreverent scoffing of the opponents of classical learning.

Of the emendations, some twenty-five, introduced by Dr. Postgate in his extremely pretty and handy text, *complexum matris retinentem avellere natam*, 62, 22 (MSS. *complexu*) is the only one that seems to me quite certain. *Maritum* for *parentum*, lxvi. 15, is very likely, supposing the contract form of the genitive to be Catullan. The transposition of *hoc*, lv. 25, is more critical than its omission; and *carior auro* for *carius auro*, cvii. 3, is very plausible. The last two emendations are not, however, new. The most taking new emendation in the book is Mr. Housman's *aperit flores*, lxvi. 282, for *parit flores*; but if it be true, as Baehrens states, that the contractions for *per* and *par* were the same in O, *parit* is the MS. reading, and suits *fecunda* better than does *aperit*; and Lucretius's *genitabilis aura Favoni* makes for *parit*, otherwise Seneca's (*Phaedra*, 13) *Zephyrus vernas evocat herbas*, which Mr. Palmer has pointed out to me, would go far to gain acceptance for *aperit*. There are not a few important inaccuracies in the notes; and the readings of V are by no means given *constanter*. But, on the whole, the edition is a very 'workable' one.

W. J. M. STARKIE.

THE NEW EDITION OF THE VULGATE.¹

A CRITICAL edition of the Latin Vulgate version of the New Testament has long been felt to be a desideratum. Very early indeed interest was taken in the correction of the current text. In the beginning of the ninth century Alcuin, by order of Charlemagne, undertook the task, with the help of MS. authority. In the thirteenth century, again, 'correctoria' were compiled, containing discussions of various readings, some of which are quoted in the edition before us. In 1590 Pope Sixtus V. published an authoritative revision, intended to be final, which, however, was soon found to need correction, and a new revision was accordingly issued by Clement VIII. in 1592. The original revision of the Sixtine correctors has only in recent times come to light (1830) by mere accident.

Bentley laboured on the Latin text, as well as on the Greek, intending to prepare an edition of both, and believing that the genuine text of both would agree perfectly. He collated, or had collated for him, many codices, but published nothing except the specimen included in his original prospectus. Possibly, as Professor Jebb suggests,

¹ *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine Secundum Editionem Sancti Hieronymi Ad Codicem Manuscriptorum fidem recensuit Iohannes Wordsworth, S. T. P., Episcopus Sarisburiensis, In operis Societatem adsumto Henrico Iuliano*

White, A.M., Societatis S. Andreae Collegii Theologici Sarisburiensis Uice Principali. Partis Prioris Fasciculus Primus, Euangelium Secundum Mattheum. Oxonii E Typographeo Clarendoniano MDCCCLXXXIX. 4to, pp. xxxviii. 170.

he had gradually come to doubt whether the Latin and Greek would agree so perfectly as he had at first anticipated, or he found the work grow too large. His notes are preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a conspectus of his corrections is given in the present edition. As might be expected, many of his results agree with those adopted by Bishop Wordsworth. Bentley's labours on the Latin text, as well as those of Lachmann and Tischendorf, were subsidiary to their study of the Greek text. The edition before us aims at, and attains, a far greater scientific completeness than they contemplated. The text of the version is here dealt with in the most thorough manner, for its own sake.

It is about eleven years since Bishop Wordsworth first set his hand to this task, and with what thoroughness he and his colleagues have worked is known to our readers, who have already made acquaintance with their labours on particular important MSS. The first instalment of the great work is now before us, containing the Gospel of St. Matthew.

The investigation of the original Hieronymian text has difficulties of its own. The tendency of the copyists in the Gospels to assimilate the text of the Evangelists is common to the Latin and Greek texts; but an additional complication arises from the existence of previous interpretations, as well as from the fact, that Jerome himself, in his commentary, often gives a rendering not adopted in his text. Besides this, the copyists occasionally amended the Latin from such Greek texts as they had at hand. This is especially the case with the British and Irish copyists. The number of MSS. of the Vulgate is so vast that to collate them all would be both endless and unprofitable. In selecting those which should be adopted as authorities, the editors have preferred those which, coming from distant sources, embrace a sufficient interval both of

space and time, so that we may feel sure of having the genuine text in one or other of them. It is a common error of unscientific critics to lay great stress on the number of witnesses for a reading. The present editors have very rightly thought more of their variety and representative character. The codices selected have been so fully collated, even in matters of spelling, that the edition is expected to prove useful, not only to theologians, but to students of the history of the Latin language. Each page contains, besides the revised text and the very full collection of various readings, the text of the Codex Brixianus of the old Latin, this being the MS. which seems to come nearest to the text which Jerome may be supposed to have had in his hands when making his revision, for it must be remembered that it was a revision, not a new version, that he undertook.

An illustration of the remark just made about the interest of the version to the philologist is furnished by a reading adopted from Bentley's conjecture, a conjecture as certain as it was easy, namely, the word 'unoculum,' in Matt. xviii. 9, where the Greek has *μονόφθαλμον*. The old Latin had 'unum oculum habentem.' The MSS. of the Vulgate vary between 'uno oculo,' 'unum oculum,' 'cum uno oculo,' 'cum unum oculum.' It is easy to trace the genealogy of these blunders from the original 'unoculum,' a word so rare as to be unknown to the copyists. It is found in a fragment of Accius preserved by Aulus Gellius (iii. 11), 'de Cyclope vel maxime quod unoculus fuit.' It occurs also in the *Curculio* of Plautus twice in the same passage, and the first time it is mistaken by all the copyists. The passage is Act 3, lines 22-24: 'LY. Unocule, salve. CU. Quaeso, deridesne me? LY. De Coclitum prosapia te esse arbitror, Nam ii sunt unoculi.' Here the MSS. all read in line 22 'une ocule. This corruption was easy, but it was not easy to corrupt 'unoculi.'

The way in which a corruption may occur, through mistaking the grammatical construction, is illustrated in Matt. xix. 31, where it is said that the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven, '*Spiritus blasphemia non remittetur*,' a literal rendering of the Greek. But a considerable number of MSS. write '*spiritus blasphemiae*.' This is also the reading of the Sixtine edition. A similar error has misled some commentators on the Epistle to the Hebrews, ii. 9, 'that he by the grace of God might taste death for every man,' '*ut gratia Dei pro omnibus gustaret mortem*.' Here Thomas Aquinas and others take '*gratia Dei*' as the nominative case, and interpret it as a title of Christ.

To a similar cause is due the error in ch. xv. 9, 'teaching for doctrines the commandments of men,' '*docentes doctrinas mandata hominum*.' Here comparatively few MSS. give the correct reading, most inserting '*et*' after '*doctrinas*.' Indeed, in some MSS. which originally had the genuine reading the error has been introduced by way of correction.

In v. 24 the editors doubtless rightly give '*offers*' as the imperative. This, as might be expected, has been variously altered by copyists to '*offer*,' '*offeris*,' '*offerres*,' '*auferes*.' The Codex Fuldensis has the same form in two other passages ('*offers*' and '*adfers*'). The reading of the Greek Codex Bezae *προσφέρεις* has clearly been derived from the corrupted Latin, which in that MS. reads '*offerres*.' '*Offers*' is also found, as Rönisch mentions, in Lk. v. 14, in several MSS.

There is good reason also for preferring '*increpavit*' to '*imperavit*' in viii. 26, although the latter has the numerical preponderance of MS. evidence for it. This preponderance it owes to the fact that this was the reading of the old Latin; indeed only five of the MSS. here cited read '*increpavit*,' and in two of these a corrector has sub-

stituted 'imperavit.' Out of twenty-eight times that *ἐπιτιμᾶν* occurs in the Gospels, it is rendered 'increpare' seventeen times; 'comminari' eight, and 'imperare' once only. The existence of the latter word here in the Old Latin is sufficient to explain its intrusion, whereas the substitution of 'increpare' could not be so explained. So, in viii. 20, the genuine word 'tabernacula' (*κατασκηνώσεις*), has been retained in a minority of codices, the majority reading 'nidos,' to which some add 'ubi requiescant' (or 'requiescunt'). The latter is the reading of the Old Latin, and is itself possibly a doublet. Codex Bezae has 'nidos tabernacula,' the former word being, however, expunged, the original copyist having, perhaps, himself made the correction. The editors remark that, where the same word occurs more than once in the same passage, the true reading is at first found in few MSS, then in more, and finally in nearly all. An example is, 'in tuo nomine' in ch. vii. 22. Only three MSS. (two of them Irish, the third Gallic) have the words in the right order all three times; two have all three times 'in nomine tuo' (the reading of the current text); the majority have the right order the second and third times. The case is similar with xxii. 37, 'in toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua et in tota mente tua,' the erroneous reading 'ex' being found the first time in a majority of MSS.; two-thirds of these have 'in' the second time, and these again are reduced by one-half the third time.

A curious instance in which the editions after the beginning of the 16th century depart from their predecessors and from the MSS., is ch. x. 5, 'praecipiens eis et dicens.' The later editions omit 'et.' The present editors conjecture that the variation is due to the rendering of Erasmus, who substitutes the finite verb for the former participle: 'quibus praeceperat dicens.' The Greek is *παραγγέλλας αὐτοῖς λέγων*.

There is a careful discussion of the spelling of the name Iesus, Ihesus, or Hiesus. Bp. Wordsworth, who formerly considered Ihesus the proper form, has now finally decided in favour of Iesus. In some places, in both the Old and New Testaments, all or most Old Latin copies have this form. The Graeco-Latin codices, Bezae and Augiensis, write in the Greek $\text{IH}\bar{\text{C}}$, XPC , and in the Latin Ihs and xps . As the p represents the Greek ρ , it is probable that h represents the Greek H. In the Old Latin MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the latter abbreviation is always xps , as it is also in the Book of Kells. Before the 7th century hiesus is also common, the h being added probably to prevent the i being sounded as y; but ihesus is hardly found. It may have arisen from mistaking the contraction ihs .

Some peculiarities of spelling in particular MSS. may be briefly mentioned. Codex Cavensis (9th century), of Spanish origin, writes: 'aextumo, sinixtra, dextruere; egomed, temed, etc.,' 'hut, han, homnis, geiunatis; amihi (for amici, and so frequently), kcarus, kcapud, etc., quad-tuor'; also 'iscribere, istare,' etc. D has 'evanguelium,' etc.

W (English, 13th century) has 'sacimus, paciencia, iusticia.' On the other hand, R (Irish, 9th century) has 'fatio.' So, for 'Hesychio' in Jerome's Epistle to Damasus, two MSS. read 'esitio'; for 'Luciano' E has 'lutiano.' Unfamiliar proper names are, indeed, treated with an amusing variety of spelling. Space forbids further details. I will only add that the work when completed will be epoch-making in the history of the Latin text.

T. K. ABBOTT.

HAIGH'S ATTIC THEATRE.¹

THIS is one of the finest specimens of exposition we have ever met. It is not often that one lights upon a work treating of a special branch of Antiquities, in reading which no watch is kept how the pages are going, and which carries one along from section to section and chapter to chapter without inducing any desire to leave it down. Yet such an exceptional treatise is Mr. Haigh's. He knows his subject in a masterly manner and can depict it vividly. His descriptions of the theatre and the performances are at once learned and picturesque. He frequently brings home to us by modern references salient features connected with the Greek drama; thus, for example, he constantly points out the similarity and dissimilarity of them with the modern opera (*e.g.* 241, 291); he notices how in Greece, as in England, an age of great actors succeeded to an age of great poets (p. 206); points out how the chorus, in its later stage, sunk to the level of the band in our theatre (p. 259); makes us feel the cost of the production of a play by comparing the rates of wages at Athens and with us;² and gives countless other useful illustrations. He insists, with very necessary repetition, on the difference between the di-

¹ The Attic Theatre: A description of the Stage and Theatre of the Athenians and of the dramatic performances at Athens by A. E. Haigh, M.A., late Fellow of Hertford and Classical Lecturer at Corpus Christi and Wad-

ham Colleges, Oxford. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1889.

² P. 85. An agricultural labourer got 3 obols a-day at Athens. With us he gets about 1s. 8d.

thyrambic chorus managed by the tribes and the dramatic contests which had nothing to say to the tribes. The book is full of lively descriptions, *e.g.* the selection of judges and the method of voting; and it is seasoned here and there with good stories.³ It is needless to say that Mr. Haigh's learning is up to the most recent date; *e.g.* he quotes, pp. 18, 322, the inscription discovered in 1886, which proved that the Oresteia was produced at the City Dionysia; and on p. 266 he gives a recently discovered vase painting, representing choristers dressed as birds. Mr. Haigh cordially acknowledges his many obligations, especially to Albert Müller, but never resigns his right of free judgment; and on some occasions (*e.g.* in support of the view that the actors performed on the raised stage, and not on a level with the chorus) he breaks a lance with Dörpfeld, in which, as far as we can judge, that distinguished archaeologist comes off second-best. The book is produced by the Clarendon Press—that is, in externals it is all that could be desired.

If we are to find any fault at all with the book, it can only be that it is not always so absolutely complete that scholars will not sometimes have to consult other works. Having treated his subject at such length, Mr. Haigh might have gone a little further, and made his book quite exhaustive. Thus, to take one chapter, the sixth, on the chorus: a repetition might have been made of what is said on pp. 5, 41, as to the qualifications of the choristers who sang at the great Dionysia and at the Lenaea, and the passage from Plutarch, Phocion 30, which shows that the fine was 1000 drachmas for each foreigner introduced. It

³ *E.g.*, p. 314: if an Athenian audience did not approve of a performer they threw stones at him.—Dem. Fals. Leg. § 337. A very bad musician borrowed a supply of stone to build a

house, and promised repayment with interest the next time he performed in public.—Athen. vi. 245 E. This is a piece of dry humour more American than Greek.

might have added (p. 262) that there are some grounds for supposing the chorus in the Ajax was twelve.⁴ Why, on p. 263, is the schol. on Eq. 586, stating the chorus to be fifteen in the Agamemnon, treated as merely an inference from the passage referred to, viz. Ag. 1348 ff.? It appears to be a substantive statement. Sufficient allusion is not made to the *σωμάτων*;⁵ and so adequate treatment is not given to the question whether the chorus of satyrs were really naked, or only appeared so, as Müller holds, owing to the flesh-coloured tights they would seem to have worn. In the pictures in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, No. 422, 424, they certainly are quite naked, as Mr. Haigh holds. We should have liked an explanation of the *ὑποκόλπιον τοῦ χοροῦ* at p. 270, whether it was the whole of the second row,⁶ or only the middle members of it, 7, 8, 9.⁷ Something might have been said about the derivation of the Attic chorus from the Doric quadrangular chorus (Athen. v. 181 C.), and about the resemblances between it and the divisions of infantry (Müller, *Dorians*, ii. p. 266, Eng. trans.: cp. Athen. xiv. 628). On p. 271 we are not told where the coryphaeus stood in a chorus of twelve, viz. No. 2. Perhaps a reference might have been made to Dion. Hal. vii. 72, *ἐνεδίδου τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ τῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα πρῶτος*, to show the function of the coryphaeus as regards the dances, though the passage refers directly to the Doric chorus. Some mention ought to have been made to other synonyms of the coryphaeus, viz. *χοροστάτης*, *χορολέκτης*, *χοροποιός*, and the proof that they were so (Sommerbrodt, pp. 22-15). Perhaps, on p. 272, a reference might have been given to Muff's view that in the Oed. Col. the chorus entered *σποράδην*. We confess a

⁴ See Muff, *Die Chorische Technik des Sophokles*, pp. 53, 79.

⁵ It is mentioned as far as we know only on p. 225, n. 4.

⁶ Muff, p. 5, n. 3, though he holds the other view in the text.

⁷ Sommerbrodt, *Scaenica*, p. 8.

strong leaning towards the ordinary opinion that, during the progress of the tragedy, the coryphaeus stood in the front rank as the chorus faced the stage: to speak from the third rank over the heads of the first two ranks would have been very awkward; and besides, he could not at all adequately give the step to the other choristers, or conduct their song, if he was behind the backs of the first two ranks. On p. 280 it might have been told that, in the case of half-choruses, the leaders of each half were the 'parastatae,' and that the coryphaeus superintended the evolutions of both divisions. On p. 281 perhaps mention might have been made of the traditional distinction between ἡμιχόριον and διχορία, viz. that the latter was the name for the chorus if permanently divided all through the play, *e.g.* in the *Lysistrata* into men and women.

As quotations are made (pp. 284-5) from Roman times as regards the importance of gestures in the dance, we may add Lucian, *Salt.* 63, ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς λαλεῖν; Tac. *Orat.* 26, *saltare diserte*; and indeed it was the main requirement in the dances of the pantomimi. On p. 286 surely the dance of Philocleon at the end of the *Vespae*, though nominally a representation of the tragic style of Thespis, cannot be seriously taken as anything else than an extravagant parody (cp. v. 1492). On p. 288 the concluding utterances of the chorus are to be styled ἐξόδιοι νόμοι or μέλη ἐξόδια, rather than ἐξοδος; the word ἐξοδος properly means all that part of the play which comes after the last stasimon. May we not argue too from the plural in Pollux, iv. 108, καὶ μέλος δὲ τι ἐξόδιον ὃ ἐξιόντες ᾗδον, that the final anapaests were sung by the whole chorus in unison as they marched out? That would be more natural and impressive than a mere recitative by the coryphaeus.

Again, let us take the short section on the costume of comic actors. Allusion might have been made (p. 240) to the vase-painting, which almost certainly represents the first

scene of the *Ranae* (Baumeister, fig. 904). In treating of the dress of the New Comedy it might have been noticed that the illustrations generally depict freedmen and parasites as having a long tunic, soldiers and most slaves having it short (A. Müller, p. 259). Black, we are told (p. 240), was worn by most parasites; hence one of them alludes to his class as οἱ μέλανες ἡμεῖς in a fragment of Alexis (116 Kock), worth quoting. On p. 240 is *μηλίνη*, 'yellow,' as L and S say? or is it not rather green or brown? The names of the different staves, *λαγωβόλον* of the rustic and *ἄρεσκο* of the pimp, might perhaps have been given.

It is the remarkable excellence of Mr. Haigh's work that has led us to deal in such minute criticism. For his book is sure to become the standard work in English on the subject; and, as no one is better able than Mr. Haigh to treat that subject in all its completeness without becoming uninteresting, we should wish that scholars might use the work as a mine of details for reference, as well as a vivid narrative for reading. It is certainly the latter in the very highest degree; and as regards the former, it requires but a very few additions to make it completely exhaustive.

* 'Appelgrün' Blümner, *Technologie*, i. 252. Similarly, p. 194, is not ἀνα-πίεσμα, 'a trap-door,' what is pushed up, not what is pushed back as L. S. say.

L. C. PURSER.

ESSAY ON THE PLACE OF ECCLESIASTICUS IN SEMITIC LITERATURE.¹

PROFESSOR Margoliouth's Lecture opens up a subject of wider interest than might be supposed from the title. The problem which he discusses is the restoration of the original text of Ecclesiasticus. Here he expounds his methods, and gives specimens of his results.

We possess two translations of the book, in Greek and Syriac respectively, of independent origin; besides a Latin version, really a farrago of several versions, of which one appears to be independent. The great recommendation of these versions for the purpose of restoration is their badness as translations, since it is often (certainly not always) easier to restore the actual words of the original from a bad translation than from a good one. The true key to the restoration in the present case, according to Prof. Margoliouth, is the assumption that the book was written in the language of the Rabbis. The vocabulary appears, he thinks, to be practically that of Aboth, with some additions which are explained by Syriac or Arabic. He has thus a tolerably large but somewhat hypothetical vocabulary to draw upon, suggestions from Old Hebrew not being excluded. With the help of this hypothesis he is enabled to suggest, first, the

¹ Being the Inaugural Lecture delivered by D. S. Margoliouth, M. A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the

University of Oxford. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1890. 4to, 24 pp.

word which either translator interpreted or else misinterpreted, and next, the correct reading and rendering. The process is, it may be feared, a rather slippery one. To restore a given text when corrupt is hard enough; when we have first to discover the text—divine it we might say—from an imperfect translation, the chances of success become still smaller, and the prospect of carrying conviction to others feebler still. What shall we say when, in addition to this, the supposed restoration is a word not known to belong to the author's dialect? Let us take one example, not an unfavourable one. In ch. iv. 30, we read: 'Be not as a lion in thy house, nor capricious (*φαντασιοσκοπῶν*) with thy servants.' Prof. Margoliouth reads: 'Nor as a bear with thy servants.' A corruption of the commonest kind (𐤒 for 𐤔) changed, he supposes, 'as a bear' to a word (𐤒𐤊) which, in Arabic and New-Syriac, means 'morose.' Now, this would be a very good suggestion had 𐤒𐤊 been given in the text. But it is not; nor is it even suggested by the versions: it has, in fact, been deduced from the conjectured 'as a bear,' Prof. Margoliouth supposing that the lion in the first clause must have been paralleled by another wild beast in the second. It is so far from being suggested by the Greek (*φαντασιοσκοπῶν*), that it is difficult to imagine how any translator should have gone so far afield to render a word meaning 'morose.' But, indeed, the meaning 'morose' itself has but little support; and what is of no little importance, the word is only known in Modern Syriac, which, perhaps, borrowed it from Arabic.² One might almost as well, in correcting a Latin classic, assume, as one step in the corruption, a word known only to modern Italian.

² In Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*, the only authority cited for the word is Stoddart's *Grammar of Modern Syriac*.

An aid of great importance to the restoration is the (supposed) metrical character of the original. The unit of the metre is, according to Prof. Margoliouth, a trisyllable, of which the middle syllable is long, the other two common (reckoning *sheva* as the only short vowel). Critics are still so far from agreement as to the metrical system of books like the Psalms and Proverbs (if metre they have), where we have the actual text before us, that it seems hazardous to rely on this aid to restoration.

Prof. Margoliouth considers that the determination of the original language of the son of Sirach is of great importance with respect to the history of the Hebrew language, and hence of the Canon. If, at a date not much later than 200 B. C., the Rabbinic idiom was the classical language of Jerusalem and the medium of philosophical and religious instruction, a long interval must lie between that period and the latest book of the Old Testament, Ecclesiastes, 'for in the interval a whole dictionary has been invented of philosophical terms . . ., of logical phrases . . ., of legal expressions . . ., nor have the structure and grammar of the language experienced less serious alteration.' It may be so; but it will be time enough to discuss this when the original text is restored, at least in its general features, to the satisfaction of critics. The problem which Prof. Margoliouth has set himself is a most interesting one; and he is not wanting either in the learning or the ingenuity required for its solution. The promised book will be awaited with interest.

Since this article was in type, Prof. Margoliouth has published in the *Expositor* for April the first part of a Paper 'On the Language and Metre of Ecclesiasticus,' in which his views are vindicated in greater detail, and which deserves careful study. Some of his instances of later Hebrew usage are very interesting. The use, how-

ever, of דָּוַר verb and noun = 'dwell,' 'dwelling,' is surely Biblical (for verb see Ps. lxxxiv. 11; for noun Is. xxxviii. 12). Again, the passages in which he finds יָצַר are satisfied by the (occasional) Biblical sense of יָצַר. (Cf. Deut. xxxi. 21.) Once more. דִּבֵּר appears to mean 'discourse' or 'talk' in 2 Kings, ix. 11.

T. K. ABBOTT.

END OF VOL. VII.

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